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OF THE

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VOL. VIII.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY THE

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PREFACE.

In entering on the twelfth year of its existence, the Royal Historical Society proceeds hopefully. Since the publication of the last annual volume, the membership has increased from 603 to 670, and the members added are, it is believed, actively interested in the Society's studies.

A proposal entertained by the Council to issue the Transactions in quarterly parts has meanwhile been departed from, but, in the event of its proving generally acceptable, may be resumed. The present volume contains a greater number and variety of Papers than the volumes immediately preceding it, but it is desirable that the Transactions should embrace the substance of the principal contributions read at the monthly meetings. With this view, and also to avoid prolixity, it is proposed to generally restrict each contribution within thirty or forty printed pages. Early in 1881 will appear Volume IX., with the substance of such original Papers as may be read to the Society up to that period. The volume will also embrace a report of the discussions at the monthly meetings.

Members will be pleased to remark in the present volume the reappearance of Dr. Zerffi, the Rev. Prebendary Irons, Dr. George Harris and the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, whose valuable contributions impart a zest to the meetings at which they are read, enhanced by the genuine interest in the Society's progress which these gentlemen have so uniformly evinced. The other papers in the volume—some of which are long and elaborate—will be estimated in proportion to the importance

of the subjects treated, and the freshness and originality of the contents.

In connection with the Genealogical section there have last year been issued, "Memoirs of John Knox and of the Family of Knox," and "Memoirs of the Families of Colt and Coutts." These works are founded on family papers and on excerpts from the public records and other unprinted materials.

For the majority of resident Fellows the rooms in Grafton Street having proved inconvenient, the Society has removed to commodious and elegant rooms in the house of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly.

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	£	s	d
Balance brought forward	19	5	0
Annual Subscriptions and Sale of Transactions and Genealogical Memoirs	746	7	1
Life Subscriptions	94	5	9
Prize for South Kensington, presented by Dr. Zerffi	10	0	0
	£869	18	3

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	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rent of rooms				50	0	0
Cost of *Transactions*	218	4	0			
Binding and Delivery, do.	44	18	4			
Literary Transcription	8	12	0			
				271	14	4
Salaries of Editor, Secretary, and Librarian				425	0	0
Stationery, Sundry Printing, and Postages				59	7	5
Reporting Proceedings				8	8	0
Refreshments				7	5	7
Bank Charges				4	4	0
Subscriptions twice paid, refunded				8	18	6
Do., paid to other Societies,—viz., Chetham, Camden, and Harleian				3	1	0
South Kensington Prize, as per contra				10	0	0
Incidental expenses				3	5	8
				£851	4	6
Balance at Bankers'				18	13	3
				£869	18	3

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ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NOTES ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

By the Rev. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D.,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Cicero's definition of history as "the lamp of truth" can be accepted only when the events of history are recorded accurately. The writer who travesties historical facts poisons the fountain of knowledge, misrepresents the ancients, misleads his contemporaries, and deceives future generations. Mindful of his responsibility the faithful historian is exact in his narrative, avoiding undue panegyric on the one hand, and on the other rash denunciation. He regards history as a science in which truth is dissociated from falsehood; an art by means of which past events are to be recorded so as to produce a present interest.

Having to deal with facts and dates, the historian is so to arrange the structure of his narrative as to render his work both shapely and cohesive. Before his time many writers had detailed the events of Caledonian history; but it was reserved for Sir Walter Scott to render by the charm of his genius the Scottish nation interesting to the world.

History has been styled the essence of innumerable biographies; but in relating the history of an individual—as, for instance, that of Sir Isaac Newton—something more is required than a sketch of his social manners or the details of his every-

day life. It is essential that his discoveries are presented as they were gradually unfolded to himself, and their influence on the progress of science intelligently depicted. In general history notices of individuals and their work must necessarily be brief; but the historian should be competent to assign to each character his proportionate place. To his scrutinizing intelligence each period should become as familiar as are the heavens to the astronomer. The writer of history who has knowledge less than this may be a respectable annalist, but he may not claim higher honours. Avoiding all useless trivialities, the true historian portrays as with a painter's brush those who helped to unite the framework of society, and uphold the bulwarks of intellectual or national progress.

What are the best sources of history? is a question which in relation to the remote past may not easily be solved. At that early period, when historians are few, we must exercise a judicious criticism, applying to every detail the suggestions of experience. Except the writers of Holy Scripture, who were guided by inspiration, the writings of every early historian are blended with fable. Even when the writers fancied themselves careful they were misled by the fabulous relations of the poets, and of a tradition which in early and credulous times was wholly uncertain. The father of secular history, Herodotus, blends fact and fiction with a simplicity which is positively charming. The laborious Thucydides places in the mouths of his heroes speeches which he acknowledges were not spoken. To ruggedness of style Dionysius of Halicarnassus adds a lamentable credulity. Zealous for the dignity of the Roman name, and rejoicing in a graceful diction, Livy is indifferent about his facts. Mean and selfish as a man, Sallust suppresses facts or misrepresents them. Xenophon, Polybius, Cæsar, and Tacitus are more trustworthy. The last has been styled the father of philosophical history.

In perusing the writings of the older historians, it is, in order to estimate their credibility, necessary as a first step to ascertain their sources of information. From their narratives we should eliminate at once all that relates to portents,

auguries, and improbabilities. Speeches, save brief utterances and those of their contemporaries, are also to be rejected. The extent of armies, the numbers described as falling in battle, the populations of states, and the dimensions of cities are all exaggerated.

Not in studying the historians of ancient nations only are we to guard against error. The earlier chroniclers of British affairs are monstrously credulous, and therefore the remote events which they record are to be received with caution. Modern writers even may not be relied on when dealing with facts with which they have not become specially conversant. Not less than their predecessors, modern writers have allowed their judgment to be warped by political bias or sectarian prejudice. Essentially a sceptic, David Hume gives prominence to facts which support his theory, gliding smoothly over those opposed to it. Less prejudiced than Hume, Dr. William Robertson was generally content to obtain his facts from preceding writers. Abundantly inquiring, Lord Macaulay was withal so constituted as to be incapable of rendering strict justice to those of opposite opinions. In resenting the narrow views of others Mr. Carlyle has exhibited prejudices of his own. Chargeable with political bias, Sir Archibald Alison is frequently obscure. A most conscientious inquirer, Patrick Fraser Tytler has produced a history of Scotland which eclipses all its predecessors ; yet he occasionally stumbles. His work is certainly not superseded by the history lately published by Dr. Hill Burton, for this work is an essay on history rather than history itself. Those who enjoy pleasant reading will find it in the historic writings of Mr. Froude ; they should not, however, hastily accept that author's conclusions.

Errors in history may be traced to one of two causes : an assertion is made concerning some well-known character, which accords with his ordinary procedure, and it is therefore accepted and put on record ; or the fact related bears the aspect of probability, but is too unimportant to invite special investigation. An illustration of the former species of error

will be found in the nearly universal assertion by historians that Edward I. assassinated the minstrels of Wales. Edward, having unjustly executed David, brother of the Prince of Wales, also Sir William Wallace, the Scottish patriot, was readily credited with the wholesale massacre of the Cambrian bards. But he is so charged unjustly. The statement, first made by Sir John Wynne in his work on the Gwedir family, was copied by Carte in his history of England, and thereafter passed as true. Now it has been shown by Mr. Stephens, in his "Literature of the Kymry," that Wynne's statement is unauthorized, and that the only edict issued by Edward which might be construed as hostile to the Welsh minstrels is one which provided for the suppression of idlers and vagabonds, who, assuming the calling of bards, practised imposition.

False statements have retained a place in history, owing to their character being too insignificant to invite special inquiry. Thus, among the favourites of James III. of Scotland, who by the jealous and irate nobility were hanged at Lauder Bridge in 1482, has been included the name of James Homyll, the king's tailor. The best Scottish historians make this assertion, including Tytler and Hill Burton. Their only authority is Boece, who is notorious for his credulity; —but the fact that Homyll was certainly a favourite of the king was held as confirmatory. Homyll having found no biographer, either among his craftsmen or in his family, this statement about his being hanged was unquestioned till the recent publication of the "Rolls of Exchequer." It there appears that a pension of £20 which Homyll had conferred on him in January, 1472-3, was paid him several years subsequent to the date of the Lauder massacre.*

The inquiries prosecuted under the direction of the Royal Historical Commissioners have cast new though strange light on another point of Scottish history. After being the chief instrument in effecting the destruction of her obnoxious husband Lord Darnley, in February, 1566-7, the Earl of Bothwell was accepted by Queen Mary as her future consort.

* Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, vol. i., Preface, p. lxiii.

It was, however, essential that prior to the solemnization of the nuptials he should get rid of his existing wife, the Lady Margaret Gordon. By Archbishop Hamilton, of St. Andrews, sentence was pronounced that Bothwell's marriage with Lady Margaret "was radically null, in respect that the parties were related to each other within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, and consequently were debarred from lawful marriage without a previous dispensation having been obtained." Now though the precise character of the relationship subsisting between the earl and his countess is unknown, and was certainly remote, it was not doubted that they were considered within the degrees which the Romish Church prohibited, and that the procuring of a dispensation prior to the marriage had certainly been overlooked. A few years ago the late Dr. John Stuart, of Edinburgh, examining on behalf of the Historical Commissioners documents in the charter-room at Dunrobin, fell upon the actual dispensation. This instrument, dated 17th February, 1566, was issued by Archbishop Hamilton, as legate of the Holy See, while he solemnly averred the year afterwards that the document did not exist.* Had Mary's son James VI. died childless, and Mary had a son by the Earl of Bothwell, with surviving progeny, might not the incidental discovery at Dunrobin have illegitimatized a dynasty?

In the Transactions of our Society several historical inaccuracies are pointed out and corrected. In vol. i. Colonel Chester has corrected an official inaccuracy in relation to the Princess Margaret, the short-lived daughter of James I., and which uncorrected most seriously compromised both the king and queen. On her tombstone in Westminster Abbey the Princess Margaret is described as having died on the 16th December, 1607, the burial register recording that she was interred on that day. Thus the tombstone and register, though slightly differing, coincide in naming December as the period of the Princess's death.

* In "A Lost Chapter in the History of Mary Queen of Scots Recovered." By Dr. John Stuart.

Then it appears, from other contemporary evidence, that at the Christmas holidays of 1607 the court indulged in excessive gaiety, which would be difficult to account for in view of the fact that the king and queen had so lately been bereaved. But Colonel Chester has succeeded in proving that both the register (which is a transcript of the lost original) and the tombstone inscription are inaccurate, and that the actual date of the princess's death was the 16th of September.

One of the meekest pioneers of the Scottish Reformation was George Wishart, testimony to his pure life and amiable manners being emphatically borne by his contemporaries. But in the State Paper Office Mr. Tytler found a document showing that in April, 1544, "a Scottish man called Wishart" had borne a letter to the English court from certain persons in Scotland who had banded together to effect the death of Cardinal Beaton. With this State paper in his hand, and finding a statement put forth in Buchanan's history to the effect that Wishart had while suffering martyrdom foretold the cardinal's death, Tytler rushed to the conclusion that the reformed preacher was bearer of the conspirators' letter to Henry VIII., and was thus a conspirator himself. In our Transactions, vol. iv., we have demolished this hypothesis, first by showing that at the stake George Wishart did not predict the cardinal's death, and further that there is conclusive evidence that the messenger to the English court was John Wishart of Pitarrow who was in point of character quite suited to do the work of a conspirator. Cardinal Beaton, it is shown, while he knew of the conspiracy, did not charge the reformed preacher with being concerned in it.

In our memoir of Sir Robert Aytoun (vol. i. of Transactions) we have exposed a strange error concerning him, committed by the historiographer royal of Scotland. Finding that one William Aytoun was connected with the erection of Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh, Mr. Hill Burton, in the first edition of his history, proceeds to describe the poet as an architect and the builder of an hospital. Next, finding an illuminated copy of the Scottish Confession of Faith in the

Advocates Library, also executed by a member of the sept, probably by William Aytoun, Mr. Burton gives the poet the further credit of excelling in the caligraphic art! Neither architect nor artist, Sir Robert was private secretary to the queens of James VI. and Charles I., and resided constantly in London.

Having fallen into two errors, the historiographer royal perpetrates a third by describing the late Professor Edmonstone Aytoun, of Edinburgh, as one of his descendants. He was not so; Sir Robert Aytoun died a bachelor.*

In vols. i. and ii., an Irish judge, claiming credit for his beneficence and religious zeal, has been described in his true character. In his will, dated 23rd March, 1670, Sir Jerome Alexander expresses, among other pious sentiments, his devout thankfulness that he had been helpful to persons in distress, and especially that he "could never be drawn to serve particular interests against the public." Of these qualities he offers proof by granting an endowment to secure a discourse being preached at Dublin each Christmas on the doctrine of salvation through grace, by bequeathing his library to Trinity College, and by providing a fund for a weekly donation to the Protestant poor. Having looked into his history, we found that Sir Jerome, at the commencement of his career as a barrister in London, had been guilty of serious malversation. For falsifying a document in a cause in which he was plaintiff, he had been deprived of his status, fined, and subjected to imprisonment. This narrative of his early history as a barrister Mr. Prendergast followed up by sketching his character as a judge. In his judicial capacity he shows that Sir Jerome was harsh, merciless, and grasping; his sentences in administering the criminal law were so terrible that the expression *to be Alexandered* came to signify to be hanged. Implacable in resentment, he cherished many feuds, and by force of law wrested large estates from the rightful owners. A Jew by birth, he subscribed the Covenant when in 1644 Presbytery obtained temporary ascendency. At the Restoration, when Episcopacy became the recognised form of worship, he ex-

* See the inscription on his tombstone in Westminster Abbey.

pressed his adherence to it, and thereafter became the terror of Nonconformists. And this man, consequent on his will, had for 150 years been regarded as a saint!

To the student of history are strikingly laid open the inconsistencies of mankind. Sacred history represents Adam as a sage and a poltroon; Noah as a preacher and a drunkard; Abraham as illustrious in faith, yet guilty of dissimulation; Jacob as a deceiver, yet worthy to give name to chosen Israel; Samson as a hero among men, but the slave of a woman; David as pious, yet criminal and licentious; Solomon as wise through life and foolish at its close; Job as abounding in patience, yet cursing the day of his birth; and, stranger than all, the faithful, loving Peter is found denying with oaths that Master to whom he had an hour before vowed a deep and unalterable attachment.

The inconsistency of mankind has been illustrated in every age. In the history of our own country there are many striking examples. Generous to his followers, and individually brave, William the Conqueror was the terror of his household. Magnanimous and heroic, Richard Cœur de Lion was withal cruel and mean. Regal dignity and administrative vigour were in Henry VIII. combined with excessive tyranny. In his daughter Mary bigotry and benignity embraced; she burnt Protestant bishops, and cherished her handmaidens. Mary Queen of Scots was generous to her servants, though utterly regardless of her promises, and no doubt privy to the murder of her husband. The vainest and most foolish of her sex, Queen Elizabeth chose wise counsellors, and firmly retained them. James I. of England read theology, translated a portion of the Psalms, and promoted the translation of the Scriptures; yet persecuted the Scottish clergy, and was an unstable friend and an implacable enemy. Affectionate to his family and a lover of devotion, Charles I. clung to falsehood as eagerly as most men respect truth. An unsated voluptuary, Charles II. cherished the arts and sciences. A judicious admiral, James II., in attempting to steer the vessel of the State, wrecked his dynasty.

In Scottish annals inconsistency rules supreme. Pious and brave, the Marquis of Montrose derived his military renown in contending with the Covenanters, whose cause he had sworn to defend. A hard-working parish minister, James Sharp was selected by his brethren to plead at the English court the cause of Presbytery ; he returned home a bigoted Episcopalian, a persecutor, and an archbishop. In youth John Graham of Claverhouse was gentle in inflicting punishment as a magistrate ; he afterwards mercilessly shot down in presence of their wives those who preferred to hear the gospel preached under a Geneva gown rather than a surplice. The learned founder of the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, published a work in which as a lawyer he sanctioned the immolation of women on charges of sorcery ; and as king's advocate hounded to death those who asserted liberty of conscience. Among many illustrious Scotsmen of later times, whose inconsistencies were prominent, may be named Sir Walter Scott and Edward Irving. Scott dwarfed his aspirations by seeking ephemeral honours as a Scottish laird. Irving denounced Romish superstition, yet accepted as spiritual manifestations the frenzied utterances of a Dumbartonshire factory girl.

On the apostolic saying, "No man liveth to himself," history affords a powerful comment. To Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore, what has Scotland owed! In teaching the people to spin she evoked that spirit of industry which has become the national characteristic. She prayed fervently, and through her devotion the tribes she ruled abjured savagery and embraced religion. Another representative of northern civilization is Sir William Wallace. Welsh by extraction, he inherited physical strength and patriotic ardour from his Cymric ancestors ; and so inspired his countrymen with that military zeal which led them to contend for freedom, and to maintain it. Awaking from a night of superstition, Scotland in the sixteenth century experienced a revival under the enlightened teaching of Knox.

Though bores in society, men of one idea have proved most

useful to mankind. Howard, by his amiable persistency, led to the improved condition of our convict prisons. The mild treatment of the insane, and the general reform of lunatic asylums, are mainly due to an American lady. Through the efforts of a few strong-minded women the class-rooms of our universities have been opened to female students.

By concentrating the force of their powerful minds on a single object, Mahomet spread abroad his false religion; William conquered England; David I. covered Scotland with religious houses, and Luther snapped the fetters of the Papacy.

History directs us to subsidiary causes which have led to national reforms. With the drainage of fens and the construction of better ventilated dwellings have disappeared intermittent fevers and pestilences. The fire of London, which burnt down the city, burnt out the plague. Pestilence and famine, which drove people into the towns, gave them culture; commercial stagnation, which led them to emigrate, has planted our colonial empire. Religious persecution drove forth the Pilgrim Fathers to lay in the Western world the foundation of a great commonwealth. Republicanism in the new world has checked despotism in the old. The collapse of the Darien and South Sea schemes tended to foster enterprise at home.

In tracing the influence of individual action or of human passion on the destiny of nations the historian fulfils an important mission. Under his teaching the ends of Providence appear to be subserved even by human perversity. War and disease are shown to have their purposes—the former by stimulating courage and crushing tyranny, the latter by conducing to sanitary reform. The historian shows how disaster has awakened energy; how one act of national progress has promoted another; how as nations approach in civilization their wants become similar, and commerce extends. As a help to commerce the historian shows that the arts are cultivated, and that science and letters attend the development of national prosperity.

In contrasting the old civilization with the new, the historian shows how Rome, ignoring science, sank at the end of a thousand years into effeminacy, and became a prey to the northern nations. He shows, on the other hand, that those races which now form the British people first engaged in agriculture, then in commerce, then in establishing colonies, then in cherishing the sciences, till they attained both commercial and intellectual pre-eminence.

To return to the inquiry as to the best sources of ancient history, we would point to inscriptions on rocks and on ancient monuments. By means of coins and medals Vaillant determined the chronology of Syria and Egypt. The domestic and social condition of a people may be gathered from their inscriptions, and their religious and funereal rites. The investigator of modern history walks secure when for his materials he has recourse to statutes, state trials, treaties with foreign powers, and instructions to diplomatic agents. The English historian has his materials in Domesday Book, the Patent and Exchequer Rolls, the Will Registers, Rymer's Foedera, the proceedings of Parliament and of the Privy Council, and State Paper collections. Particular periods are illustrated by songs and ballads. Diaries and journals are important when the writers relate events which occurred under their own eyes, or with which they were familiar.

To make sure of his facts by a careful and searching scrutiny, the historian should confine his inquiries to one epoch, perhaps to one or two reigns. Next to accuracy, he should cultivate an epigrammatic idiom, avoiding vague generalities and cumbrous amplification. His page should be graceful through the succinctness of his details. Suiting his narrative to the capacity of a schoolboy, it should be rendered attractive to the scholar. Of Saxon England the history should be written in the Saxon tongue. Artificial forms are to be eschewed. His province being to delight and gratify as well as to convey sound and correct information, the historian should remember the Horatian maxim, " Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci."

VLADIMIR MONOMACHUS, GRAND PRINCE OF KYJEV.

By the Rev. ALBERT H. WRATISLAW, M.A.,
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It is not often that statesmanship, military skill, and earnest piety are found united in the person of a monarch. Yet such was the case with Vladimir Monomachus, Grand Prince of Kyjev, a contemporary of our own Norman kings, William Rufus and Henry I. Henry I. of England is indeed said to have possessed a degree of refinement and learning which in that unlettered age spread his renown over Europe, and earned him the honourable surname of "Beauclerc." But Vladimir, the Russian, has left written remains behind him which many a nation might well envy, and which few, very few, royal pens, always excepting the sweet singer of Israel and his wise successor, have surpassed or even emulated.

Vladimir Monomachus, son of Vszevolod Jaroslavovitz and a Greek princess, daughter of the Emperor Constantine, Monomachus, so called from his personal courage in warfare, was born in the year 1053. After the death of his father, in 1093, he took possession of the principality of Czernigov, but was obliged to give it up the next year to his cousin Oleg, the son of Svjatoslav, and content himself with his father's residence at Perejaslav. In 1113, after the death of another cousin, he was called to the throne of Kyjev, where he ruled wisely, successfully, and gloriously till his death in 1125. For his character and certain circumstances connecting him with England, I shall borrow the words of Mr. Ralston in his charming little work on "Early Russian History."

"No less important than the military exploits of Vladimir Monomachus were the benefits he conferred on his realm as

an administrator. Many a new city sprang into life during his rule, the most important being that which bore his name of Vladimir, and afterwards became for a time the capital of Russia ; and many a city already existing grew, and thrived, and waxed strong and secure under his fostering care. But greatest among his peaceful works was the 'Code of Laws,' which was compiled by his orders, an enlarged recension of that issued by his grandfather Jaroslav, under the name of *Russhaya Pravda* or *Russian Right*.* From it, and from the testament which he left behind him for the benefit of his children, may be seen how enlightened as a lawgiver, how wise as a prince, how venerable as a house-father, was the ruler of the Russian people during the first quarter of the twelfth century.

"One special point of interest for us in Vladimir's life is his marriage, or at least one of his marriages. We have seen how Jaroslav's daughter Elizabeth attended to our Western Isles her husband, Harald Hardrada, when he joined Toste against our English Harold, and fell at Stamford Bridge. Soon after the widowed Elizabeth had sailed back to Scandinavia, she was followed by the fugitive family of the Harold who conquered at Stamford Bridge, but was himself conquered and slain at Senlac. According to Icelandic sagas, Gyda, our Harold's daughter—a daughter by Edith of the Swan's neck, thinks Mr. Freeman—after spending some time in Denmark, was married to a Russian prince, who seems to have been Vladimir Monomachus. And thus a royal daughter of Saxon England became consort of the ruler of that country, from which a prince of ours, bearing the name of the greatest of our Saxon kings, has so recently brought home an imperial bride."

Vladimir left three writings behind him, which the Lauren-

* With regard to this, Mr. Ralston tells us, p. 64, "This venerable monument of old wisdom and justice, closely connected with the records of German and Scandinavian jurisprudence, will enable all who consult it to dispose of that sweeping charge of Asiatic barbarism which we so often hear levelled against the Russian princes of the olden days."

tian, the earliest, MS. of the chronicler Nestor, has incorporated with its text. The first is what Mr. Ralston calls his "testament," but which Vladimir himself designates his "Instruction," which he composed in the decline of life for the benefit of his sons, instructing them how to comport themselves in public and private, in peace and in war. He also gives therein an account of his various journeys and achievements in war and hunting. The second is a letter which he sent in 1096 to Oleg, prince of Czernigov, urging him to peace and concord with himself; and the third a prayer composed during his reign at Kyjev. All these are remarkable documents, but the "Instruction" and the letter to Oleg are the most striking. The "Instruction" was composed in a sledge on a journey. "Sitting in my sledge, I meditated in my soul, and gave thanks to God, who has preserved me, sinner that I am, unto this day. . . . If there be any one to whom this writing is not pleasing, let them not laugh, nor say thus: 'On a long journey, and sitting in a sledge, thou hast spoken foolishly.'" I will extract a passage which occurs a little before the middle of the document, the previous portion being taken up with quotations from the Psalms and other parts of Scripture, aptly arranged and dovetailed together.

"Reading these divine words, my children, praise God, who hath given us His grace, and this instruction from me, simple and unintelligent man that I am. Hearken to me! if ye do not accept all, yet accept half. If it be that God softens your hearts, shed tears for your sins, saying, 'As Thou did'st have compassion on the harlot, and on the robber, and on the publican, so also have compassion on us, sinful men that we are!' And in church, and when lying down in bed, do this. Forget not any single night, when ye can, to bow down to the ground—if ye cannot do it oftener, at any rate thrice; and forget not this, be not lazy, for by this nightly bowing and chanting a man overcomes the devil, and thereby gets quit of the sins that he commits during the day. And if ye be travelling on horseback, and there is nothing to do with anybody, if ye cannot say other prayers, yet cry without ceasing

in secret, 'Lord, have mercy upon us!' for this prayer is better than all, certainly better than thinking of filthiness. Above all, forget not the poor, but as far as ye can, according to your power, nourish them, and give to the orphan, and help the widow to her rights yourselves, and allow not the powerful to destroy any man. Slay no man, be he righteous or be he guilty, neither command him to be slain: if he be guilty and deserving of the penalty of death, yet do not destroy the soul of any Christian. If ye be relating anything, be it good or be it evil, swear not by God, neither cross yourselves, for of this there is no need. If it comes to pass to you that ye kiss the cross,* and swear to your brethren or anybody else, if it be that ye can fix your hearts and abide thereby, then kiss it, and see that after kissing it ye do not break your oath and destroy your souls. As touching bishops, priests, and abbots, receive blessing from them with love, and turn not away from them, but according to your power love them, and take heed that they pray to God for you. Above all, have no pride in heart or mind, but say, 'We are mortal, to-day alive and to-morrow in the grave; all that Thou hast given us is not ours, but Thine; Thou hast entrusted it to us for a few days.' And lay not up treasures on the earth; that is a great sin to us. Honour old men as fathers, and love young men as brethren."

Vladimir now proceeds to give directions for home life, insisting above all on the importance of the master's eye, and of attending personally to everything. This leads him by an easy transition to the duties of a prince in warfare, and to a really splendid diatribe against laziness and idleness. "In your home be not idle, but look to all; rely not on a bailiff or a servant, lest people coming to you smile sneeringly at your house or your dinner. When ye have set out for war, be not idle; rely not on generals; give not yourselves up to drinking, eating, or sleep, but set the sentinels yourselves, and lie not down till ye have arranged them on all sides round the army, and rise up early in the morning, and lay not aside your arms

* This was the manner and form of making a solemn treaty.

and armour till ye have in good time inspected everything round about; for through idleness a man perishes unexpectedly. Beware of lying, drunkenness, and licentiousness, for thereby soul and body perish. And on a journey, whithersoever ye go in your lands, allow neither your own servants nor those of others to do harm to any one, either in the villages or on the plough lands, that the people curse you not. And whither ye go and where ye stop, give meat and drink to him that asketh it; and especially honour a guest, whencesoever he cometh to you, be he simple or be he noble, or be he a messenger or an ambassador; and if ye cannot do it with gifts, do it at any rate with meat and drink; for these passers-by spread a man's character throughout all lands, either for good or for evil. Visit the sick, accompany the dead to the grave, for we are all mortal; and pass not by a man, but salute him, and give him good words. Love your wives, but let them not rule over you. But let this be the summit of all to you—have the fear of God above everything. If ye find yourselves forgetting this, read my 'Instruction' through frequently, and I shall not have shame, and it will be well for you. What good thing ye know forget not, and what ye know not, learn; as my father, staying at home, learned five languages: this is the foundation of honour from other lands. For idleness is the mother of all evil; what it knows it forgets, and what it knows not it learns not. First of all, as touching the church, let not the sun find you in bed. For this my late father used to do, and so have all good men done. First give God matinal thanks, and then when the sun rises, or as soon as ye see the sun, magnify God with joy, saying, 'Lighten mine eyes, O Christ, my God! who hast given me Thy beauteous light; and add to me, O Lord, year after year, that afterwards, when I have repented of my sins and amended my life, I may thus praise God.' And ye can sit and consult with your 'druzina,'* or ride hunting, or drive out, or lie down and sleep: sleep at midday

* The "druzina" was the council of retainers in attendance on every Russian prince.

is ordained by God, for at this time beasts, birds, and many kind repose."

Vladimir was also a "mighty hunter before the Lord." Besides his eighty-nine "journeys," many of which were hard-fought campaigns, the wild bull, the elk, the stag, the wild horse, the boar, and the bear, all fell victims to his prowess or his skill, not, however, without bringing him from time to time into imminent peril of death.

He concludes his "Instruction" with these words :—

"What my subject was bound to do, that I performed myself, in war and in hunting, in heat and in cold, not giving myself repose. Not looking to lieutenants or officers, what was requisite I did myself; and I also maintained order in my household myself, and maintained hunting order amongst hunters, and due order amongst horse-dealers, and in all that touches falcons and hawks. Likewise I took the part of the poor peasant and unfortunate widow, that the mighty might not harm them, and looked myself to ecclesiastical order and the service of God. But take it not ill, my children, neither let any one else do so, when reading this; for I am not lauding myself nor mine own daring, but I am praising God and magnifying His grace, who protected me, poor and sinful man that I am, from these dangerous adventures, and created me active and well adapted for all human works. And perusing this writing, betake yourselves to all good works, glorifying God with His saints. Fear not death then, my children, either in war or from a wild beast, but do the work of men, as God shall point out to you. For if I never took harm, either from war or from a wild beast, or from water, or through falling from horseback, then can none of you take harm or lose his life until it is ordained by God. But when death is appointed by God, then neither father nor mother nor brethren can prevent it. But if it is good to take care of oneself, the care of God is better than that of man."

The letter to Oleg was written after Oleg had killed Izjaslav, one of Vladimir's sons, in battle. Oleg was the son of Svjatoslav, brother of Vszevolod, Vladimir's father, and thus

Vladimir's first cousin. Oleg was also godfather to Mstislav, another son of Vladimir, who endeavoured ineffectually to make peace between Oleg and his father, and eventually defeated Oleg, and forced him to a reconciliation. The letter begins :—

"O greatly tortured and sorrowful man that I am! Much dost thou struggle with my heart, O my soul, and resist my heart; for since thou art immortal, I consider how it will stand with us before the terrible Judge if we do not repent and make peace together. For if any one saith, 'I love God, but I do not love my brother, it is a lie.' And again: 'If ye forgive not your brother his trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you.' The prophet saith, 'Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious against them who work iniquity;' 'How good and beautiful it is when brethren are in unity!' But this is the devil's instigation. There were wars also in the days of our wise grandfathers, and of our good fathers of blessed memory; for the devil desireth not the good of the human race, but leads us into discord. And this I have written to thee, because thy son, whom thou didst christen, and who is posted near thee, hath urged me. He hath sent to me his man and a letter, saying, 'Let us come to agreement and make peace. My brother indeed has perished, but let not us twain be his avengers; but let us commit vengeance to God, and those who are guilty will stand before God; but let us not destroy the Russian land.' And seeing my son's humility, I grieved and feared God, and said, 'He, in his youth and inexperience, is thus humbling himself and committing it to God! I am a sinner above all other men. I have hearkened to my son, and written thee a letter: whether thou receivest it well or insultingly I shall see by thy writing. For by these words I have anticipated thee in that, which I expected from thee, in humility and in repentance, desiring from God the remission of my former sins. For our Lord is not a man, but the God of the whole world, who creates in a moment all that He willeth. He Himself suffered shame, and spitting, and

scourging, and gave Himself up to death, though He was ruler of life and death. But what are we? Sinful, wicked men, to-day alive and to-morrow dead, to-day in glory and honour, and to-morrow in the grave, and without remembrance, and what we have amassed others will divide. Consider, brother, our fathers: what have they taken with them? for what is the good of their grave robes? But only that hath benefited them which they did for their souls. O that thou hadst sent to me first, brother, and anticipated me with these words! When they slew my child and thine before thee, and when thou sawest his blood and wan body, which had blossomed like a fresh flower, thou must have said, standing over him, plunging into the thoughts of thy soul, 'Woe is me! what have I done? I laid snares for his inexperience, and for the worthlessness of this transitory world have sought out sin for myself, and tears for his father and mother.'"

Could a more powerful or affecting appeal be made from a stronger to a weaker prince, a near blood relation? Could higher or better Christian feeling or fuller knowledge of true Christian doctrine be exhibited? If such a letter as this, or such a document as the "Instruction," addressed by Vladimir to his sons, had proceeded from the pen of any of our Norman monarchs, his contemporaries, in what estimation would it have been held! How often would it have been printed and reprinted in our own days! Yet there these documents are, the productions of a barbarous Russian, before the Tatar invasions imposed on Russia a yoke as crushing and as debasing as that of the Turks in the fair fields of the Balkan Peninsula.

THE

ORIGIN OF THE OFFICE OF POET LAUREATE.

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In a recently published work the author has presented biographical details of the Poets Laureate of England; the object of this paper is to place before the Royal Historical Society in a concise form all the reliable information he has obtained as to the origin of the office. From the appointment of Chaucer about five hundred years have elapsed, and during that period a long line of poets have held the title of Laureate. For the first two hundred years they were somewhat irregularly appointed, but from the creation of Richard Edwards in 1561, they come down to the present time without interruption.

The selection of the Laureate has not always been a wise one, but the list contains the names of a few of our greatest authors, and the honour was certainly worthily bestowed upon Edmund Spenser, Ben Jonson, John Dryden, Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, and Alfred Tennyson. As the custom of crowning successful poets appears to have been in use since the origin of poetry itself, the office of Poet Laureate can certainly boast of considerable antiquity, and the laurel wreath of the Greeks and Romans was an envied trophy long before our Druidical forefathers held aloft the mistletoe bough in their mystic rites.

From what foreign nation we first borrowed the idea of a King of the Poets is doubtful, but in order to fully understand the title and the office as we now possess them, it is necessary to examine the traditions of other European countries, where the knowledge of letters existed, prior to their introduction

into this country. The ancient Greeks and Romans in their public games and ceremonies crowned their favourite bards with laurel. When Domitian held the Capitoline Games he himself placed the laurel wreath upon the head of the successful author; Statius was thrice crowned in this manner. The custom was observed in Rome until about 393 A.D., when Theodosius suppressed it as a heathen practice, though surely of a harmless description. In the Middle Ages the Romans publicly conferred the title of Laureate upon Francis Petrarch in 1341, and particulars of the ceremonies then observed have been preserved.

Petrarch visited the court of Robert King of Naples, by whom he was much admired, and at whose suggestion he underwent an examination in history, literature, and philosophy. Having passed through this preliminary ordeal with *éclat*, King Robert wrote to the Roman Senate urging them to offer the laurel to Petrarch, and the notification of their intention to do so was sent to the poet at Vaucluse, in August, 1340. King Robert presented his state robe to Petrarch, desiring him to wear it on the day he should be crowned; the poet proceeded to Rome, on the 8th of April, 1341, he was publicly crowned on the Capitoline Hill and proclaimed Poet Laureate and Historiographer.

The following was the formula used on the occasion by the Count d'Anguillara when he placed the laurel on the poet's brow :—

"We, Count and Senator for us and our College, declare Francis Petrarch, great poet and historian, and for a special mark of his quality of poet, we have placed with our hands on his head *a crown of laurel*, granting to him by the tenor of these presents, and by the authority of King Robert, of the Senate and the people of Rome, in the poetic as well as in the historic art, and generally in whatever relates to the said arts, as well in this holy city as elsewhere, the free and entire power of reading, disputing, and interpreting all ancient books, to make new ones, and compose poems, which, God assisting, shall endure from age to age."

Petrarch acknowledged the honour in a sonnet he then

recited, he placed his chaplet on the high altar of St. Peter's Church, and returned home.

Another equally celebrated Italian Poet Laureate was Torquato Tasso, born at Sorrento, near Naples, on the 11th March, 1544, and educated in the university of Padua.

His career was a chequered one, his poems brought him fame, and he found much favour at the Court of Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, but at times a restless spirit urged him to wander about the country in a state bordering upon destitution, and finally he became so peculiar in his habits that he was for some years detained in a lunatic asylum. On his release he resumed his wandering career; his fame as the author of *Jerusalem Delivered* had, however, reached Rome, and Pope Clement VIII. sent an invitation to Tasso, then at Mantua, and in November, 1594, Tasso arrived in Rome, where he was received with much distinction by the Pope, who intended to confer the laureate crown upon him in the Capitol.

"'I will give to you the laurel crown,' said Clement, 'that it may receive as much honour from you as it has conferred upon those who have had it before you.'"

Preparations were made for the ceremony, which was fixed to take place on the 25th day of April, 1595, but during the winter Tasso's health rapidly declined, and he died on the very day appointed for his coronation, in the monastery of St. Onofrio, at the age of fifty-two.

About 1514, Pope Leo X. named a wretched Neapolitan poetaster, one Camillo Querno, *Archipoeta*.

The inauguration was attended by much ceremony, probably only intended as a burlesque, but it affected the poet to tears. His crown was composed of a spray of the time-honoured laurel, with vine leaves, emblematic of Bacchus, God of wine, and the fine arts, and cabbage, which, according to an old superstition, was an antidote to drunkenness; history, however, records that in this instance it failed to keep the poet sober.

This man appears to have been the butt of the Roman nobles, who incited him to repeat one of his works, an almost interminable epic poem entitled *Alexias;* emboldened by this encouragement Querno incautiously boasted his power to make extempore verses for a thousand poets, when he was reminded that he also drank sufficient for a thousand bards as good as he.

> "Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis !
> Et pro mille aliis archipoeta bibit !"

The perquisites allotted to this individual were the leavings of the Pope's dishes and flagons, whilst all the circumstances of his appointment were so absurd that Englishmen would long since have forgotten his name but for Alexander Pope's well known lines in the Dunciad :—

> "Not with more glee, by hands Pontific crown'd,
> With scarlet hats wide-waving circled round,
> Rome in her Capitol saw Querno sit,
> Throned on seven hills, the Antichrist of wit."

The present Poet Laureate of the kingdom of Italy is Signor Giovanni Prati, a poet whose works are greatly admired by his countrymen. This gentleman was born at Dascindo, January 27, 1815, he studied law at Padua, and was elected a member of the Italian Parliament in 1862.

In the empire of Germany the office appears to have been regularly maintained ; the honour of laureation was usually conferred by the State, or by some university, and was by no means confined to one poet at a time, as has usually been the case in England. Latterly indeed the title was so lavishly bestowed by the German Emperors as to bring it into contempt, and numerous satires were directed against those who received and those who conferred the dignity.

The first Poet Laureate of the German empire, of whom mention can be found, was Conradus Celtes Protuccius, who was created by the Emperor Frederick III. about the year 1466. This Laureate afterwards received a patent from Maximilian I., naming him Rector of the College of Poetry and Rhetoric in Vienna, with power to confer the laurels on

approved students. Thus was the office handed down, the laurels being conferred either by Imperial anthority under the Emperor's own hand, or by the Counts Palatine, or by others having official instructions and full authority. The poets were crowned with sprays of the tree of their old patron Phœbus, and the ceremony was invested with considerable importance. Apostolo Zeno (1669-1750), the Venetian composer and father of the Italian opera, was one of the most notable men who received the title *Il Poeta Cesareo.*

His successor was the still more celebrated Pietro A. D. B. Metastasio (1698-1782), upon whom the Emperor Charles VI. conferred the title in 1729, with a pension of 4,000 guilders. Frederick, another of the German Emperors, presented the laurels to Pope Pius II., as a mark of his appreciation of that Pontiff's writings.

The University of Strasbourg enjoyed the special privilege of creating Laureates, and availed itself of its prerogative with more freedom than discrimination. Probably the candidates for the laurels had to pay very heavy fees for the honour, which was doubtless considered in the light of a diploma, or degree, as we find that in the year 1621 no less than three Poets Laureate were created. The formula used on the occasion by the Chancellor of the University of Strasbourg was as follows :—

"I create you, being placed in a chair of state, crowned with laurel and ivy, and wearing a ring of gold, and the same do pronounce and constitute, Poets Laureate, in the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen."

John Selden, in his work on "Titles of Honour," gives an interesting account of the manner in which the ceremony of investing a poet with the laurels was performed at Strasbourg in 1616 by the Count Palatine, Thomas Obrechtus. The recipient—Joannes Paulus Crusius—attended at the time and place appointed by the public proclamation of the Count, and the assembly being full, Crusius commenced the proceedings by reciting a petitioning epigram. The Count Palatine then

delivered a long oration in praise of the art of poetry, and addressed Crusius in a Latin exordium. Then Crusius recited a poem consisting of 300 verses, which were called in the ceremony of the creation specimens *pro impetranda Laures*, and were composed upon a subject selected by the candidate. Count Obrechtus now displayed his patent as Count Palatine granted by the Emperor, citing from it the clause which conferred the power of creating Poets Laureate.

Crusius then took an oath of allegiance to the Emperor and his successors, whereupon the Count crowned him with laurels, and proclaimed him *Poetam et Vatem Laureatum.* A gold ring was placed upon his finger, and the Count made a speech exhorting Crusius to uphold the dignity conferred upon him. The Laureate replied in another poetical recitation expressive of his thanks, and of his desire to preserve the honour of the office, upon which the ceremony ended, as one would imagine to the great delight of the fatigued spectators.

The French do not appear to have adopted the title of Poet Laureate, nor have they applied it to any of their writers. Some of their historians have entitled Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1586), the *Regal* poet, but this would seem to have been but an idle compliment.

During the Middle Ages a curious institution existed known as *Les Jeux floraux*, consisting of poetical competitions or tournaments, the prizes consisting of flowers fashioned in gold and silver. Clemence Isaure, Countess of Toulouse, revived these poetical contests in 1498, which henceforth were held annually in May. The conquerors were crowned with chaplets of natural flowers, degrees were conferred, and he who had three times won a prize was created a *Docteur en gaye Science*, the instrument of creation being in verse. Clemence Isaure, by her will, left a sum of money to be expended in prizes, which continued to be contested for until the floral games were suppressed in 1790. Napoleon re-established them in 1806, and the successful poems have been published from time to time. These games derived a certain air of importance from the fact that in 1694 Louis XIV.

granted by letters patent the title of *Academy* to the floral games. (See "Curiosités Littéraires," by L. Lalanne, Paris, 1857.)

The institution was known as early as 1323 as the *Collége du gai Sçavoir*, or *de la gaie Science*. The title *Jeux floraux* appears to have come into use at the time of the revival of the ceremonies by the Countess Isaure. Some historians have cast doubts on the history of that lady, but the French people implicitly believe in the main facts as herein detailed, and have erected a statue to her memory in the gardens of the Palais du Luxembourg, at Paris, with the inscription

CLEMENCE ISAURE.

Fondatrice des Jeux floraux.

The title of *Poet Laureate* is used in Spain as a degree conferred by the universities, as it was once in England, the University of Seville having, it is said, established that custom.

Cervantes contemptuously alludes to the title in the second part of Don Quixote, where he makes Sancho say :—

"Forgive me, honest Dapple, and entreat fortune in the best terms thou canst use, to deliver us from this vexatious misery in which we are equally involved; in which case I promise to put a crown of laurel upon thy head, so as thou shalt look like a Poet Laureate; and withal, to give thee a double allowance of provender."

To turn our attention to the office as it exists in our own islands, we can trace it, under one form or another, back to a very remote period.

From very ancient records it appears that the old Scandinavian nations not only had royal bards, but that the Irish and Welsh kings were constantly attended by their poets. Some regulations dating from 940 show that the bards of the Welsh kings were domestic officers in the royal household, to each of whom the king allowed a horse and a woollen robe, and the queen a linen garment. Numerous were the fees and privileges enjoyed by the royal bards in Wales, whilst some of

the duties required were sufficiently singular and quaint. Witness the following :—

"The Governor of the castle was privileged to sit next to him in the hall, on the three principal feast days, and to place the harp in his hand, and on those days the poet was to receive the steward's robe as a fee. The bard was to sing a song in the queen's chamber if desired ; he was to have an ox or a cow from the booty taken from the enemy ; and when the king's army was in array, he was to sing the song of the British kings. When invested with the office the king was to present him with a harp (according to some authorities the gift was a chessboard) of the value of 120 pence, and the queen was to give him a ring of gold. When the king rode out of the castle, five bards were to accompany him ; if the poet asked a favour, or gratuity of the king, he was fined an ode or a poem ; if of a nobleman or chief, three ; if of a vassal *he was to sing him to sleep*."

In 1078 Gryffith ap Conan, King of Wales, placed the bards under certain rules and restrictions, at the same time that he drew up stringent laws for the protection of their lives and property. Thus whoever even slightly injured a bard was to be fined six cows and 120 pence, whilst the murderer of one of these highly prized individuals was to be punished by the infliction of a fine of 120 cows.

An early connection had existed between the Welsh and the Irish poets, and many of the regulations in Ireland were of a similar character to those observed in Wales, and all pointed strongly to the high estimation in which the bards were held.

Various circumstances conspired to sweep away these customs from England and Ireland, notably the introduction of large foreign elements into the population, and the various changes in the language. But with the Welsh, remarkable for their descent from the early Britons, for the ancient language they speak, and for their intense love of nationality, these bardic festivities were long preserved in memory of the days of bygone greatness.

The City of London had for many years an officer entitled

the *City Poet*, whose talents were to be devoted to the interests of the metropolis and the glorification of its Mayors. The following is a list of some of the principal holders of the office:—

	BIRTH.	DEATH.
John Heywood	— ...	1565
George Peele	1552 ...	1598
John Webster	Early part 17th century	
Thomas Middleton	— ...	1626
Anthony Munday	1554 ...	1633
Ben Jonson	1573 ...	1637
Thomas Dekker	— ...	1641
John Taylor (the Water Poet) ...	1580 ...	1654
John Tatham	— ...	1658
John Ogilvy	1600 ...	1676
Thomas Jordan	— ...	—
Matthew Taubmann	— ...	1685
Elkanah Settle	1648 ...	1724

The exact origin of the title of Poet Laureate in England is involved in considerable obscurity; the two greatest authorities on the point—namely, John Selden, in his "Titles of Honour," and Thomas Warton, in his "History of English Poetry"—are unable to trace back the appointment to its source.

In the first instance there can be little doubt that the idea of conferring honour upon their poets by crowning them was imitated by the English from the later Roman Empire. The universities conferred the title as a reward for skill in Latin versification; works in the vulgar tongue were not taken into consideration.

Of the university Laureates those of Oxford appear to have been the most celebrated. The title or degree was accompanied by a wreath of laurel. From the Oxford University registers it appears that on the 12th day of March, 1511, Edward Watson, student in grammar, obtained the laurels on the condition that he would compose a Latin poem in praise of his university. In 1512 Richard Smyth obtained the same dignity, subject to his composing 100 Latin hexameter verses to be affixed to the gates of St. Mary's Church.

Maurice Byrchenshaw, another Laureate, was desired to write the same number of verses, and to promise not to read Ovid's "Art of Love" with his pupils.

The celebrated John Skelton also laureated at Oxford, and was permitted to wear the Cambridge laurel and robe as a mark of particular favour—honours to which he somewhat boastfully refers in his poems.

"At Oxford, the University,
Advanced I was to that degree;
By whole consent of their Senate,
I was made Poet Laureate."

He was also permitted to wear a special robe of white and green, the king's colours, decorated with gold and silk embroidery, the name of the poetical muse being worked upon it, as appears from his own description:—

"Why were ye, Calliope,
Embroider'd with letters of gold?
SKELTON LAUREATE, ORATOR REGIUS,
Maketh this answer:—
Calliope,
As ye may see,
Regent is she of poets all,
Which gave to me
The high degree
Laureate to be of fame royal.
Whose name enrolled
With silk and gold
I dare be bold thus for to wear."

Robert Whittington was the last recipient of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He wrote some panegyrics on Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, but there is no reason to suppose that he held the title of Laureate by royal appointment.

In addition, however, to these university Laureates, there had been from time immemorial an officer in the Royal household called the King's Poet, or King's Versificator. Of this office, and of those who held it, little can be learnt; no records are known to exist of any coronation ceremony on their investiture, nor can it be said for what period the office was held. The first record of payment to the *King's Versifier*

occurs as early as 1251, when Henry III. made a grant of 100 shillings per annum to Henri d'Avranches, a French poet and minstrel. These royal bards appear to have composed most of their poems in Latin, the first of whom mention is made being William Peregrinus, or "The Foreigner," who accompanied Richard Cœur-de-Lion to the Crusades, and celebrated his warlike deeds in a Latin poem dedicated to Stephen Turnham, a renowned Crusader.

Robert Baston held the same appointment under Edward II., whom he accompanied to the siege of Stirling. The operations inspired Baston with a subject for a poem in Latin hexameters; but he was soon afterwards captured by the Scots, who forced him to write an eulogium on Robert Bruce, which he also performed in the same language and metre. Having thus taken a mild revenge upon the bard, the Scots set him at liberty.

Baston died in 1310. He is usually styled Poet Laureate and Oxford Orator.

Geoffrey Chaucer, the first poet of any eminence who wrote in the mother tongue, was styled Poet Laureate by his contemporaries, and received several royal grants and offices. He died on the 25th October, 1400, when his friend Sir John Gower, a lawyer of some eminence and the author of the "Confessio Amantis," appears to have obtained or to have assumed the title.

James I. of Scotland, during his captivity in this country, cultivated the friendship of these learned men, and in his own poem, entitled "The King's Quhair," speaks respectfully of them as "superlative as poetes laureate."

Sir John Gower died in the autumn of 1408.

In the time of Edward IV. John Kay was appointed to the office, probably by the King himself. No poetical works of his remain to show what pretensions he had to the title of *poet*, but one book of his survives which is more famous on account of its excessive rarity than from any intrinsic merit. It is a prose translation of a Latin history of the Siege of Rhodes, printed by W. Caxton in 1490, entitled "The Dylect-

able Newesse and Tythynges of the Gloryous Victorye of the Rhodjans agaynst the Turkes," translated from the Latin of G. Caoursin by *Johan Kaye* (Poete Laureate). *W. Caxton, Westminster.*

The dedication runs thus :—

"To the most excellente, most redoubted, and most Crysten King, King Edward the Fourth, Johan Kaye, hys humble poete laureate and most lowley seruante, kneyling unto the ground, sayth salute."

As, however, Edward IV. died in 1483, the work must have been written some years before Caxton printed it.

Andrew (or Andrea) Bernard, a French Augustine monk, received the title, with a pension of ten marks, direct from the Crown, about 1486. All the pieces written by Bernard as Laureate were composed in Latin, although he held office as late as the reign of Henry VIII.

Prior to the appointment of Bernard very little regularity appears to have been observed, and it is impossible to clearly distinguish the Royal Laureates from the numerous university poets who received that title.

From the time of Andrew Bernard, about 1486, to that of Ben Jonson in 1616, several Royal Laureates were appointed, but without any legal or poetical ceremony, and in most cases without any fixed emolument.

It is usual, therefore, to style Jonson's predecessors *Volunteer Laureates*, he being the first to receive the title and pension by Letters Patent under the great seal, bearing date at Westminster, the first day of February, in the thirteenth year of the reign of King James, *i.e.*, 1616.

The pension then granted was 100 marks of lawful money per annum, during his life, but soon after the accession of Charles I., Ben Jonson petitioned for an increase, and new Letters Patent were issued, dated March, 1630.

After reciting the previous grant, the Patent proceeds :—

"Know yee nowe, that wee, for divers good considerations vs at this present especially movinge, and in consideration of the good and acceptable service done vnto vs and our said father by the said

Benjamin Johnson, and especially to encourage him to proceede in those services of his witt and penn, which wee have enjoined vnto him, and which we expect from him, are graciously pleased to augment and increase the said annuitie or pension of 100 marks, vnto an annuitie of 100 pounds of lawful money of England for his life. . . . And further know yee, that wee of our more especial grace, certen knowledge and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, do give and graunt unto the said Benjamin Johnson, and his assigns, one terse of Canary Spanish wine yearly; to have, hold, perceive, receive, and take the said terse of Canary Spanish wine unto the said Benjamin Johnson and his assigns during the term of his natural life, out of our store of wines yearly, and from time to time remayninge at or in our cellars within or belonging to our palace of Whitehall." Endorsed,—*Expl. apud Westm. vicesimo sexto die Martii anno R. Ris Caroli quinto.*

The successors of Ben Jonson were Sir William Davenant, John Dryden, Thomas Shadwell, Nahum Tate, Nicholas Rowe, Laurence Eusden, Colley Cibber, William Whitehead, Thomas Warton, Henry James Pye, Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, Alfred Tennyson.

Our Court Poets Laureate have never been solemnly crowned in public, nor have any examinations ever been held to inquire into the fitness of candidates for the post.

Political feeling has more frequently influenced the selection than poetical merit, and although the appointment has in most cases been held for life, Dryden was displaced on the accession of William III., and Nahum Tate lost the office on the death of Queen Anne, being succeeded by Rowe, who was in favour with George I.

Until the appointment of Shadwell by King William III. there were no official duties attached to the office, but he commenced to perform a certain duty by composing an ode to the Sovereign on his birthday, and another on New Year's Day, and such odes were regularly written by all his successors down to the year 1813, when on the death of H. J. Pye the custom fell into disuse.

The Laureate odes were sung to music, composed by the Court musician, in St. James's Palace, before the Sovereign and Court.

The Queen of the United Kingdom is probably the only Sovereign in the Christian world who does not hold a State reception on New Year's Day, and it is somewhat difficult to account for the decline of all ceremonial observances on the opening of the new year. Our ancestors appear to have carried matters to the other extreme; costly presents were given and accepted, the lawyers used to wait upon the Lord Chancellor, each man bringing with him a bag of gold as tribute; the Lord Mayor of London, with the Aldermen and Masters of the different City Companies, carried gifts of their special wares to the Sovereign, wine and beer being always included amongst the offerings; and the Poet Laureate used to compose an ode which was set to music by the Court musician, and sung before the King and Royal Family.

Many of these courtly festivities were suspended during the long illnesses of George III., some of them have never been revived, and the birthday odes and New Year's odes ceased to be performed a short time before the office of Laureate was conferred upon Robert Southey.

The present Poet Laureate has occasionally written poems laudatory of members of the Royal Family, but these have been voluntary offerings, and issued at irregular intervals.

NOTES ON THE EMOLUMENTS OF THE OFFICE.

1251. Henry III. grants 100 shillings per annum to Henri d'Avranches, the *King's Versifier.*

1368. Edward III. grants a daily pitcher of wine to Geoffrey Chaucer, to be charged on the Port of London.

Shortly after his accession Richard II. commuted that allowance for an annual payment of twenty marks.

November, 1486. Henry VII. grants a pension of ten marks to Andrew Bernard, Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal.

1591. Queen Elizabeth grants a yearly pension of £50 to Edmund Spenser, to commence February, 1591.

February, 1615-1616. James I. grants a pension of 100 marks to Ben Jonson.

1630. Charles I. appoints Ben Jonson to be Poet Laureate by Royal Letters Patent, with £100 pension and an annual allowance of a butt of canary, commencing March, 1630.

As City Poet Ben Jonson for many years received a pension of 100 nobles.

1660. In the list of the King's household at the Restoration no mention is made of a Poet Laureate. Davenant nominally held the post, but probably received no direct salary.

1670. More than two years elapsed between the death of Davenant and the grant of Letters Patent to Dryden in August, 1670.

1685. James II. disallows the annual butt of sack, but increases Dryden's pension.

On the flight of James II., Dryden loses his offices and retires into private life.

1688. William III. appoints Thomas Shadwell his Poet Laureate, with £100 a year and the allowance of wine.

These continue to be granted to each succeeding Laureate, until the appointment of Henry James Pye in 1790, when he accepts an annual payment of £27 in lieu of the butt of sack.

1702. On the accession of Queen Anne, Nahum Tate was re-appointed Laureate, and was also named Historiographer Royal, the latter post carrying a pension of £200 a year.

1714. The office of Poet Laureate being placed in the gift of the Lord Chamberlain (as it still is), it was necessary to reappoint Mr. Nahum Tate.

A TABLE OF THE POETS LAUREATE OF ENGLAND.

	Date & Place of Birth.	Where Educated.	Date of Appointment.	Sovereigns under whom they served	Death.	Place of Burial.
Geoffrey Chaucer	London, 1328	Cambridge (?)	1368.....	Edward III., Richard II.	25th Oct., 1400...	Westminster Abbey
Sir John Gower	1320	.....	1400.....	Henry IV.	September, 1408	St. Mary Overy, Southwark
John Kay	.....	.....	About 1462	Edward IV.		
Andrew Bernard*	Toulouse	.....	November, 1486	Henry VII., Henry VIII.	1522 or 1523	
John Skelton	Norwich, 1461	Oxford and Cambridge...	1489.....	,, ,,	21st June, 1529...	St. Margaret's, Westminster
Robert Whittington†	1480.....	Oxford	1512.....	Henry VIII.	About 1535	
Richard Edwards	Somersetshire, 1523	Corpus Christi, Oxford...	1561.....	Elizabeth	31st Oct., 1566	
Edmund Spenser‡	London, 1552	Pembroke Hall, Camb....	February, 1590.....	Elizabeth	16th Jan., 1599...	Westminster Abbey
Samuel Daniel..... ..	Taunton, 1562	Magdalen Hall, Oxford	1598.....	Elizabeth, James I.	13th Oct., 1619...	Beckington

THE FOLLOWING WERE APPOINTED BY ROYAL LETTERS PATENT.

Benjamin Jonson§	London, 11th June, 1573	St. John's, Cambridge...	1st February, 1615-16	James I., Charles I.	6th August, 1637	Westminster Abbey
Sir William Davenant‖...	Oxford, February, 1605	Lincoln College	13th December, 1638	Charles I., Charles II....	7th April, 1668 ...	,, ,,

During the Commonwealth the office of Laureate was in abeyance, but Thomas May, a poet, who held the office of Parliamentary Historiographer aspired to the post.

John Dryden¶	Aldwincle, 9th Aug., 1631	Trinity College, Camb ...	18th August, 1670 ...	Charles II., James II. ...	1st May, 1700 ...	Westminster Abbey
Thomas Shadwell*¶	Norfolk, 1640	Caius College, Cambridge	1688.....	William III.....	6th Dec., 1692...	Chelsea Church
Nahum Tate††	Dublin, 1652.....	Trinity College, Dublin...	1692	William III., Anne	1st Aug., 1715 ...	St. George's, Southwark
Nicholas Rowe.....	Little Beckford, 1673	Westminster School	1715.....	George I.	6th Dec., 1718 ...	Westminster Abbey
Laurence Eusden	Yorkshire	Trinity College, Camb ..	24th December, 1718	George I., George II. ...	27th Sept., 1730	Coningsby
Colley Cibber	London, 6th Nov. 1671 ..	Grantham School	3rd December, 1730	George II	12th Dec., 1757	Danish Church, London
William Whitehead.....	Cambridge, 1715	Clare Hall, Cambridge...	19th December, 1757	George II., George III...	14th April, 1785	South Audley Chapel
Thomas Warton	Basingstoke, 1728	Trinity College, Oxford	May, 1785.....	George III.	21st May, 1790...	Trinity College, Oxford
Henry James Pye‡‡	London, 20th Feb., 1745	Magdalen College, Oxford	1790	George III.	11th Aug., 1813	Pinner Church
Robert Southey	Bristol, 12th Aug., 1774	Balliol College, Oxford ...	4th October, 1813.....	G. III., G. IV., W. IV., Vic	21st March, 1843	Crosthwaite
William Wordsworth	Cockermouth, 7th Apl. 1770	St. John's, Cambridge ...	6th April, 1843.....	Victoria	23rd April, 1850	Grasmere
Alfred Tennyson§§	Somersby, Lincolnshire, 5th August, 1809.....	Trinity College, Camb....	19th November, 1850	Victoria		

* In 1486 a grant of 10 marks made to A. Bernard as poet ; he was also Historiographer Royal.
† Entitled Robert Whittington, "Grammaticæ magister et protonates Angliæ in florentissima Oxoniensi Academia Laureatus."
‡ Queen Elizabeth grants £50 per annum to E. Spenser, to commence February, 1591.
§ 1616. James I. grants B. J. 100 marks per annum. Is appointed Poet Laureate by Letters Patent, granted by Charles with £100 per annum and a butt of Canary, March 1630.
‖ On the death of Davenant. Dryden was named his successor but Letters Patent were not granted until 1670.
¶ Also Historiographer Royal. In 1685 James II. deprived Dryden of the annual butt of Sack.
** Also Historiographer Royal.
†† Also Historiographer Royal. In 1714 the office of Poet Laureate was placed in the gift of the Lord Chamberlain, N. Tate re-appointed.
‡‡ Accepts an annual payment of £27 in lieu of butt of Sack
§§ 6th March, 1851. Mr. Alfred Tennyson was presented at Court on his appointment to be Poet Laureate.

DOMESTIC EVERY-DAY LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS IN THIS COUNTRY, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.,

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IV. From the End of the Thirteenth, to the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century.

Having in my last paper endeavoured to trace the influence upon society, manners, and civilization of the Norman conquest through the influence of new blood and the introduction of new customs and modes of living, as also of a system of jurisprudence in many respects different from that which had before prevailed; I shall now proceed to describe the manners and customs and mode of life prevalent in this country at the period following that of the Norman Conquest—embraced by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries,—and to point out the successive changes which then occurred, and the influences that effected them.

In former papers I alluded to the building of London, and to the improvements which were from time to time made in the construction of this vast city. In 1174 London was bounded by a high and spacious wall, furnished with turrets and seven double gates, supposed to have been Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Newgate, Ludgate, and a postern near the Tower. In 1211 the citizens encompassed the walls with a ditch for the first time, 200 feet wide. In 1385, extensive preparations having been made by Charles VI. of France for the invasion of England, Richard II. sent a writ to the citizens of London commanding them to rebuild their

fortifications, which had been allowed to grow old and weak from want of repair. The ditches, also, which had been filled with dirt, dunghills, and other filth, were ordered to be cleansed. In 1476 an Act of Common Council was passed which ordained that the city walls should be repaired, of "brick made of earth, dug, tempered, and burnt in Moorfields." This year, also, the Tower ditch was cleansed. Fires, it appears, continued to be frequent in London at this early period of our history, but it is remarked that some good arose out of these occurrences, inasmuch as the citizens were thereby induced to build their houses of stone and brick instead of wood, and to cover them with tiles instead of thatch. Southwark and London Bridges were laid waste by fire in the year 1212, when 3,000 persons are said to have been drowned in the Thames. The London citizen of those days lived in a house which barely sheltered him from the inclemencies of the weather, and where the smoke, rain, and wind disputed his occupancy. The houses were at first, as I mentioned in a former paper, mere hovels of wood and plaster work; but after London was burnt in the reign of King Stephen there was framed an ordinance requiring stone materials for partition walls.* Some few houses of stone were erected in London at this period, but the greater number were still sheds of wood, called wicks, standing on an unpaved and marshy soil.† Moreover at this time the houses in London seem to have consisted of but one story over the ground floor. But in the early part of the fourteenth century, we find houses in London of two or three stories, each story sometimes forming the freehold of different individuals, entered, probably, by stairs on the outside, and giving rise to frequent disputes. Windows are mentioned, but glass was rare and was imported into this country from Flanders. Chimneys are supposed not to have become common before the year 1300.‡

The nobility in old times lived within the City, for the sake of safety and security. The bishops' houses were by the

* *Liber Albus.*

† Thompson's Illus. vol. iv., p. 114.

‡ *Liber Albus.*

water side, because they were held sacred persons whom nobody would hurt.* None but the bakers were at this period allowed to keep swine in London, and swine found wandering within the walls of the City might be killed. The swine of St. Anthony's Hospital were, however, privileged in consideration of their patron saint; but the renter of this institution was sworn not to extend this exemption to other pigs, or to hang round their necks the bells which were the distinguishing mark of St. Anthony's own. It was equally forbidden that dogs should wander about the city, either by night or day, without some one to look after them, excepting always "genteel dogs" (*chiens gentils*), or, in other words, dogs which belonged to "the great lords of the land."†

The different gates of the city of London were at this time strictly watched to levy tolls, and to prevent the entrance of persons affected with leprosy, as also other forbidden individuals. Nobody was allowed to forestall wares or wines in the Pool; no ship or boat was allowed to moor off Southwark; watermen were similarly restricted at nightfall; while the purity of the Thames and its tributaries, at that time much used for brewing and culinary purposes, was strictly protected from offal and rubbish. No person was allowed in the time of Edward III. to bathe in the Tower fosse, or in the Thames near the Tower, under penalty of death. Previously to the banishment of the Jews there was a tax upon their burial; and lepers were only permitted to ask alms through a common deputy.‡

The innkeepers of this period, in London, were not allowed to lodge a man more than a day and a night, unless they would be responsible to the City for any offences which their

* Selden's "Table Talk." Diagrams are deposited in the archives of the Society, representing the style of house building in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in accordance with what we have been describing, in which, moreover, we may particularly observe the different stories overhanging those below them, a custom which was abandoned when the extensive use of timber was given up for more solid materials.

† *Liber Albus.* ‡ *Ibid.*

guests might commit. It was their duty to take the arms of their guests, and keep them till their departure. In case, too, business should absolutely necessitate the stranger's absence from his hostel or inn at night, it was the bounden duty of the host, by the City ordinances, to remind him, with the best grace he might, that he must take care and be back in good time. Hostellers were also forbidden to sell food or drink except to their guests; but they were protected by charter from the billetting of the royal retinue and dependants, and in consequence of a struggle on this point they were authorized to kill any such persons who attempted to take possession of their houses by main force.*

It has been surmised that the best ale of this period, which was no better than sweet wort, was so thin that drunkenness could hardly follow. Fermented liquors being drunk in those days as new as possible—in fact, ale being used as soon as it was made, though the very smallest quantity noticed is a quart—its thinness and lusciousness combined made intoxication a difficulty. Nevertheless the business of a brewer was held in low estimation, and was generally in the hands of females till the close of the fifteenth century, at which time Fleet Street was tenanted almost wholly by breweresses or alewives, and the makers of felt caps.†

From the names of certain of the drinks of this time we may judge somewhat of their quality: one was called dagger ale, which, we are told, was reckoned particularly sharp and dangerous. Another was called "mad dog," another "angel's food," and another "dragon's milk." The fishmongers of the period of which I am now speaking were not allowed to buy fresh fish till after mass sung, nor salt fish till after prime. No one could sell fish upon the quay by retail, and no one could carry about cooked whelks, under pain of being amerced and losing his whelks into the bargain. A peculiarly stringent regulation required strange or foreign butchers to sell by retail till noon, and after that by wholesale until vespers rung at St. Paul's, "at which time they must have finished the sale

* *Liber Albus.* † *Ibid.*

of their meat without carrying away anything to salt or store, under penalty of forfeiting the same."*

One case is recorded of a dishonest baker of those days being pilloried for having put a piece of iron into his bread to increase its weight. And if a baker sold bread deficient in weight or quality, the law was that for the first offence he was to be drawn upon a hurdle from Guildhall through the most populous and the most dirty streets, with the defective loaf hanging from his neck, and for further offences there were further penalties, ending in the pulling down of his oven, and the cancelling of his bakery for ever.†

Some singular prohibitory laws were made during the reign of Edward III. both for apparel and diet. The labourer and husbandman was allowed but one meal a day, and it was signified what he should eat.‡ However, the same authority informs us that in the eleventh year of this king's reign "there was so great plenty that a quarter of wheat was sold at London for two shillings, a fat ox for a noble, a fat sheep for sixpence, and six pigeons for a penny, a fat goose for twopence, and a pigge for a penny, and other things after this rate." Of course, great allowance must be made for the difference in the value of money at that time and the present.

Paris does not appear to have been much better off than London, as regards the state of its streets and buildings, and the condition in which the former were allowed to be kept. The streets of Paris were at this time very narrow, and full of dirt and rubbish, and pigs were allowed to range about in them. On one occasion a stray pig had the rudeness to run against the horse on which a young prince was riding, and caused him to fall; and the rider was so severely hurt as only to survive a few hours. On the occurrence of this calamity an order was issued, declaring that no pigs should be in future suffered in the streets of Paris. The monks of the abbey of St. Anthony, however, remonstrated against this order, and permission was given to them, as in London, to allow their

* *Liber Albus.* † *Ibid.* ‡ Baker's Chronicle.

pigs to run at large in the streets, provided they had bells about their necks.*

Nevertheless, about a hundred years after this, an old historian of the thirteenth century thus describes the state of the streets in Paris; so that it is to be feared that the current of civilization and improvement, even should it have been very steady, was not very rapid:—

"The king one day, walking about in his royal palace, went to the window to divert his thoughts by watching the course of the river. Waggons drawn by horses were traversing the city, and by throwing up the mud made such an intolerable stench that the king could not endure it. He at that moment conceived a difficult but necessary project,—a project which none of his predecessors had dared to execute, because of its extreme difficulty and expense; and this was the paving of the streets."

In consequence of this, the two principal streets were paved with large flat stones. The accumulation of soil has, however, since been so great that this original pavement, which is still to be found, is seven or eight feet below the present surface.

In Paris, during the fourteenth century, the first sound heard in a morning was that of the tinkling of little bells, which were rung by persons dressed in black, and who announced the names of those who had died in the night.

As regards the general condition of this country, it has been said that England, during the whole of the reign of King Stephen, was probably in a state of greater anarchy and misery than it had ever known since the first settlement of the Saxons, or has ever experienced since. According to the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," already several times quoted from,—

"In this king's time all was dissention, and evil, and rapine. Thou mightest go a whole day's journey and not find a man sitting in a town, nor an acre of land tilled. The poor died of hunger, and those who had been men well to do, begged for bread. Never was more mischief done by heathen invaders. To till the ground was to plough the sands of the sea. This lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and it grew continually worse and worse."

* Markham's "History of France," 91.

Foreign merchants, by a law of Alfred, were limited to a residence in England of forty days at the four fairs, and another law made all foreigners liable to arrest for debts contracted by other foreigners. But as the national commerce and the traffic with foreigners increased, they were treated in a more liberal spirit, and obtained due protection and encouragement. Nevertheless, in 1377, Richard the Second complied with the desire of the men of London, and prohibited foreign merchants from being housekeepers in, or freemen of the city; but in the next year this ordinance was recalled. Another law, which was made in 1363, enacted that merchants, tradesmen, and handicrafts were to select some one occupation, and follow no other; but this law was for the most part repealed the year after it was made.

Wine appears to have been, for some time after the Conquest, one of the most important articles of English trade; although in 1352 only three taverns in London were licensed to sell sweet wines; one being in Cheap, another in Walbrook, and a third in Lombard Street. In 1372, two hundred English ships were, at one time, waiting in the port of Bordeaux to be laden with wine; and Kingston-on-Hull traded in the same year with Prussia by the Baltic Sea, the king permitting each ship to carry four pipes of Rhenish wine, provided they brought back bow-staves in return for the encouragement of archers, and for the support of the English army.*

The Norman ships, as they are represented in the Bayeux tapestry, which I have carefully inspected, and of one of which there is a diagram among those already alluded to, consisted of long galleys, with a high scroll at the stern, surmounted by a figure; and by a similar crook at the prow, with a bust above it. The rudder appears on one side, and there is a single mast, with a sail attached to an ornamented yard, while the ropes of the vessel are fastened to the head and stern, and the anchor is carried at the stern over the side. Some of the vessels for war of this time were fitted up with castles for slingers and archers, whilst men with heavy flails

* Thompson's "Ill. Gt. Brit.," vol. ii., p. 288.

stood on the prow. Certain of these ships were large enough to contain provisions for two years of corn, wine, bacon, bread, and also cattle.

The directing properly of the magnet, and its application in the mariner's compass, appear to have become known in Europe towards the end of the twelfth century, and the instrument was probably in common use among navigators soon after the middle of the thirteenth. The royal navy of England, however, was for some time chiefly composed of vessels belonging to private merchants which were pressed for the public service. In the reign of Edward the Third we find many ships belonging to Yarmouth, Bristol, Lynne, Hull, and other ports, distinguished as ships of war. The fleet employed at the siege of Calais, in 1346, consisted of 25 ships belonging to the king, which carried 419 mariners; and also of several foreign, and some Irish vessels. In 1360, Edward the Third directed that the largest ships, in an expedition against France, should carry 40 mariners, 40 armed men, and 60 archers.* In 1449, John Taviner, of Hull, was endowed with several valuable privileges by King Henry the Sixth, because he had built a ship as large as a great carack.†

The agriculture and gardening of the Anglo-Norman period appear to have been carried on principally by the monks, although sometimes the barons improved the cultivation of their estates. Thus, Richard de Rulos, Chamberlain to William the Conqueror, drained marshes, enclosed commons, and changed the fenny banks of the Welland, in Lincolnshire, where he built the town of Deeping, into gardens and orchards. The foreign monks introduced many improvements from Normandy, and Archbishop Becket and his clergy are said to have assisted their neighbours in reaping their corn and

* "Pict. Hist. Eng.," vol. i., pp. 830, 831, 832.

† Thompson's "Ill. Gt. Brit.," vol. ii., p. 290. A representation of some ships in the thirteenth century, copied from valuable drawings in the Harleian Collection of the British Museum, is contained in another diagram, also among the archives of this Society. One of them seems to be of considerable size. From the other some armed men are about to disembark.

getting in their hay. William the Second is, however, reported by several historians to have levied a kind of land tax, which so greatly oppressed agriculture that famine and dearth ensued from the cattle fields being left uncultivated.

The instruments of husbandry at this time appear not to have been very different from those in use in more modern days. In Wales the drivers of ploughs walked backwards. Gardening was much improved by the Normans, particularly the culture of the vine; and William of Malmesbury states that in the vale of Gloucester a sweet and pleasant wine was made little inferior to that of France.

Almost every large castle and monastery had its kitchen-garden, physic-garden, or orchard, and not infrequently its vineyard. Nevertheless the slow progress of agricultural improvement is very surely marked by the frequent occurrence of famines at this period, and for some time after. In the year 1494 wheat was as low as 6s. the quarter; but in 1497 hay brought the very high price of 10s. the load, in consequence of a severe drought. About this period, according to several authorities, the cultivation of hops was revived or introduced in England, and used in malt liquors here in 1525. Hemp and flax were first planted in this country in 1533. An old writer mentions that the north side of London, without Moorgate, had been occupied time out of mind by gardens, which in 1497 were changed into fields for the city archers.

The clergy were at this time almost the only practitioners in medicine, but it is said that they were not very successful in the art; and want of skill in the physician is supposed to have caused the wound of Richard I. to terminate fatally in 1199. The practice of medicine was thought, however, to induce the monks to neglect their convents; so in 1163 it was ordained at the Council of Tours that the ecclesiastics should not go out as physicians for more than two months at a time. The physician royal of Edward II. declared that he cured the king's son of the small-pox by wrapping him in scarlet cloth, and hanging scarlet curtains round his bed. As a remedy for epilepsy he ordered the patient to be carried

to church to hear mass four times during the fast, and afterwards to wear round his neck the Gospel for the day, written on a scroll by the priest.

The neglect both of physic and surgery in England has, however, been attributed to the general pursuit of alchemy by the learned, which appeared to them, no doubt, to open a readier and much more rapid road to the acquisition of wisdom, fame, wealth, and longevity.

Several real and valuable discoveries were, nevertheless, made at this rude period. Roger Bacon, the great light of the thirteenth century, was one of the very few persons who understood astronomy or optics; he knew the exact length of the solar year; is believed to have been acquainted with the telescope, and to have discovered the composition of gunpowder in 1270. It has also been supposed that the invention of spectacles was effected by Roger Bacon, as well as of the art of propelling land carriages by machinery, answering to, or being the forerunner of, our present system of travelling by railways.

Some of Roger Bacon's manuscripts are still in existence in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; the Cottonian and Harleian collections, now in the British Museum; and the libraries of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Magdalen College, Cambridge; the Bodleian library at Oxford; and the library at Lambeth Palace. He was, in common with other great men of the times, subjected to severe persecution on account of his discoveries. He died in the year 1292.

The introduction of engraved wooden blocks, printed with the letter-press, may be considered as contemporary with the art of printing, and of nearly the same age in France and England. In Caxton's "Golden Legend," printed in 1483, there is a large cut or plate of an assembly of saints, and also several small engravings. The art of printing from engraved metal plates was obtained from Italy. Printing had, however, been practised nearly thirty years in Germany before it was introduced either into England or France. At length a citizen of London, William Caxton, who was born in Kent

about the year 1412, printed the first book in England, and established his printing office in the almonry, Westminster. The year 1474 is assumed to have been that of the introduction of the art into England.*

Caxton is supposed to have erected his printing press at Westminster under the sanction of the abbot, and probably near one of the chapels attached to the aisles of the abbey. No remains of this interesting spot can now be discovered, but it is probable that the building was taken down in preparing for the erection of Henry VII.'s chapel. Caxton afterwards removed to King Street, Westminster. The other early printers of England were mostly foreigners. In Scotland the typographical art was practised so early as the year 1508.†

In a former paper I mentioned that the Anglo-Saxons made use of the bark of trees for writing upon. Cotton paper was very early used in this country ; and in the Bishop's Registry at Norwich there is a volume of wills, all of paper, dated as far back as 1370. The first paper mill is supposed to have been erected in Hertfordshire, near Stevenage.

Clocks that struck and chimed the hour are mentioned as early as the close of the thirteenth century as part of the furniture of a mansion ; also clocks with strings and weights hung against the wall. The first great clock that was seen in Paris was erected in the year 1372.‡

The practice of painting the walls and ceilings of different rooms appears to have existed previously to the reign of Henry III. During the sovereignty of that monarch and his immediate successors, there were numerous royal orders respecting it, and it seems to have superseded the hangings of needlework, of which, in several instances, the paintings are directed to be made in imitation. The well-known "painted chamber" at Westminster obtained its name from this style of decoration. As early as the reign of Henry III. we also read in the artistical histories of this period of painted glass windows in domestic buildings.

* See "Pict. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 201.

† See Thompson's "Ill. Gt. Britain," vol. ii., pp. 142.

‡ See Markham's "History of England," p. 29.

The bedsteads of that period resembled the modern cribs used for children, and for grown-up people as well on some parts of the Continent, consisting of a sort of overgrown box. Kings and noblemen of the fourteenth century very often gave their beds by will. One court lady in 1367 gave her daughter, by her will, a bed "with the furniture of her father's arms;" a nobleman left to his son his green bed, and to his daughter his white bed. Edward the Black Prince in 1376 bequeathed to his confessor a large bed, with his arms embroidered at each corner; and to another person "one bed of camora powdered with blue eagles."* In 1415, Edward, Duke of York, named in his will his "bed of feathers and leopards, with the furniture appertaining to the same;" also his "white and red tapestry of garters," and his "green bed embroidered with a compass." In 1434 a lady gave, by her will, a bed of gold swans.†

The clothes used by the Normans were made of cloth, skin of the stag or elk, or leather; and the mail or warlike dress consisted of flat rings or diamond-shaped pieces of iron. The Norman suits cased the whole person in one piece, but those used in the reign of William II. were shaped like a frock, with wide sleeves and a hood. Under Henry II. the shields were highly decorated, and sometimes bore the portrait of a favourite lady; but in the reign of Richard I. heraldic bearings were quite commom. The earliest instance of their use as a shield which is now extant in England is supposed to be exhibited in the monumental effigy of Geoffrey Mandeville Earl of Essex, in the Temple Church. He died in 1148.

The dress of the Anglo-Norman nobles and gentry consisted of a long and close gown reaching to the feet, the lower edge being frequently embroidered with gold. Over this hung an equally long cloak, generally buckled over the breast; and in walking or riding abroad a hood hung behind it. The close gown was put on over the head like a shirt, and fastened round the waist by a girdle, which was frequently embroidered

* "Pictorial History of England," vol. i., p. 864. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 237.

and set with precious stones. The nether stock and stockings were of fine cloth, and were sometimes very costly.

Under William II. were introduced remarkable long-toed shoes, as seen in one of the diagrams, by a person who thence received the name of De Cornibus, or Robert with the horns; and the fashion at length grew to such a height as to compel the clergy to denounce it from the pulpit. For more than a century the Anglo-Normans wore no hair on their faces. The hair of the head was in general worn long, but when Henry I. was in Normandy in 1104, Serlo, an eloquent prelate, preached with such energy against long hair that he actually moved the king and his nobles to tears; upon which the preacher drew forth a pair of scissors from beneath his robe, and shortened the locks of his illustrious audience on the spot. A story is also related of a young knight who in 1129 dreamed that he saw himself strangled in his own locks by a spectre, whereupon he awoke in a fright, cut off his hair, and was imitated by the courtiers. It is, however, added that the new custom was of but short duration.*

A law was nevertheless made by Henry I. forbidding the wearing of long hair, which at this time was frequent, as we are told, after the manner of the French.†

In the reign of Henry III. the cowl or coif was the general head-gear of the traveller. A large cloak, with sleeves and a capuchin or cowl attached to it, is mentioned as a garment for foul weather under the name of "super-totus," or overall.

It is recorded in *Froissart's Chronicles* that in the year 1461 the men wore shorter jackets than usual, after the manner in which people are wont to dress monkeys, "which," says he, "was a very indecent and impudent thing."

The ladies of this period were satirized by the poets on account of their whimsical head-dress and extravagantly long trains. By one writer they are compared to peacocks and magpies, having long tails that trail in the dirt, a thousand

* See Thompson's "Ill. Gt. Britain," vol. ii., pp. 275, 276.

† Baker's Chronicle, Reign of Henry I., p. 55.

times longer than those of such birds. The pernicious system of tight lacing is also continually mentioned in works of this date. Lawyers were originally priests, and consequently wore the tonsure; but on the clergy being forbidden to meddle with secular affairs, the lay lawyers discontinued the practice of shaving the head, and wore the coif for distinction's sake. It was first made of linen, and afterwards of white silk, and is said to have presented a very undignified and unbecoming appearance, resembling an exceedingly small child's nightcap tied under the chin. The coif is still worn by serjeants-at-law over their wigs. So extravagant, however, did the fashions of dress in use at length become, that the House of Commons felt itself obliged to take the matter up in the year 1363 and various restrictions were imposed on the liberty of the subject in this respect. Long beards came into fashion about this time, and beaver hats are also spoken of.*

A law passed in 1463 ordered all jackets to be worn of a certain length behind. One custom of dandies at this time was to wear a boot on one leg and a stocking on the other. The head-dresses of the ladies became in time so immoderately high and broad, that in 1416 the doors of all the state apartments in one of the palaces on the Continent had to be raised and widened in order that the head-dresses of the Queen and her ladies might have room to enter.

A representation may be seen in the diagram on this subject, deposited with the others, of some of the dresses of this period. It was copied from a very beautiful missal in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, called the Romance of the Rose. The large feathers in the cap of the persons in the first compartment will be noticed. The individuals in the second compartment exhibit the ordinary dress of people of the middle class. The head-dresses and general costume of the ladies in the third compartment deserve attention. It was the custom in Paris during the fourteenth century for people to be standing ready in the streets to mend the

* See "Pictorial History of England," vol. i., pp. 866—869.

clothes of any one passing which appeared to need such an operation.

Before the Norman invasion, widows had no power to marry again until their year of mourning had expired. But this was set aside by Magna Charta; and a widow was permitted to marry and enjoy her dower, provided she remained forty days in her late husband's dwelling, if it were not a castle, which would require being kept by a man; and gave security that she would not marry without her lord's consent.

The Anglo-Norman form of baptism was nearly similar to that of the modern Church of Rome, and that adopted by the Saxons after their conversion. Accordingly the next diagram, which was also copied from a drawing in the British Museum, represents the baptism of a child according to the ceremonies in use at this period. In the other compartment of it is a representation of a witch raising an evil spirit. In former times it was usual to exorcise a child, or cast out from it the evil spirit, before proceeding to administer the rite of baptism; and in the older liturgies of the English Church, a form of service for this purpose will be found.

The funerals of this time were occasionally very splendid indeed. The body of Henry II. was dressed in his royal robes, a golden crown was set on his head, and shoes of wrought gold on his feet, in which habit it was exposed to the people with the face uncovered. The rooms on such occasions were hung with black for mourning; and for feudal lords, who were patrons of churches, the walls of the church were washed with a broad black border, having the ensigns of the deceased painted at intervals.

The Normans do not appear to have adopted family names, although they used family shields. Such additions as the Bastard, the Red, the Fine Scholar, the Lion-hearted, were the only surnames by which the Norman sovereigns were distinguished. Their vassals began early, however, to use an addition to their Christian name, derived generally from the birthplace or patrimonial estate of the person. Sometimes

an office of the court supplied the name, and occasionally some personal quality of the individual. But the generality of the people had only one name.

The condition of the country at this period as regards its regulation and the security of property, appears to have been very indifferent. The preamble of a statute passed in 1285 states that "from day to day, robberies, murders, burnings, and theft be more often used than they have been heretofore." It goes on to recite that, owing to the partiality of jurors, great difficulty was found in convicting felons. No man was, in consequence, allowed to lodge during the night in the suburbs of a town unless his host would answer for him; and every stranger found in the streets from sunset to sunrise was to be immediately apprehended by the watch. It was also directed that every highway leading from one market town to another should be cleared for two hundred feet, on each side, of every ditch, tree, or bush in which a man might seek to do hurt.

The next diagram, which is a copy of an illumination in an ancient missal preserved in the British Museum, depicts the mode of dealing with criminals at this period. In the first compartment they are represented as being taken to prison by the officers of justice. In the second, one of the criminals is being bound by the jailer. In the third the prisoners are being carried in a cart to the place of execution, attended by the officers of justice, and a priest walking by their side is entreating them to repentance. In the fourth the sentence of execution is being carried out in the usual form.

In 1349 the Rolls of Parliament record the prayer of the Commons, that "whereas it is notorious that robbers and malefactors infest the country, the king would charge the great men of the land that none such be maintained by them, privily or openly, but that they lend assistance to arrest and take such ill-doers."

Mr. Hallam has observed that highway robbery has been, from the earliest times, a sort of national crime in this country. Sir John Fortescue remarked that more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in one year than French in seven. It is a

singular fact, illustrative of the state of society at this time, that in the year 1513, after a bill had passed the House of Commons subjecting all robbers and murderers to the civil power, a proviso was annexed to it that bishops, priests, and deacons should be exempted from its operation.*

The sons of several of the noble warriors who came over with William the Conqueror gave great offence to their inferior leader by their unruly and turbulent conduct, and were declared rebels and outlaws, and in consequence fled to the vast forests which still continued to cover many parts of the country, and made those wild districts their residence, where they bid defiance alike to the law and the peaceably disposed inhabitants of the land.

Hollinshed records in his *Chronicles*, that during the reign of Edward IV. five notable thieves were put to death for robbing the church called St. Martin's, in London, and other places; three of them were taken to the Tower Hill, and there hanged and burnt. The other two were pressed to death.

But although there was so little law in the country at this period, yet it is some consolation to be able to record that it was abundantly supplied with lawyers, even beyond its wants. A statute was passed in 1455, in consequence of the number of attorneys in Norwich, Norfolk, and Suffolk having increased from six or eight to ten times that number. Under the former state of things it is remarked in the preamble, that great tranquillity reigned "in the said cities and counties, and little trouble or vexation was made by untrue or foreign suits." Now, it is added, there are fourscore attorneys, the greater part of whom have nothing to live upon but the gains of their attorneyship, and also are not possessed of a proper knowledge of the law. Their practices are thus described: —

"They come to every market, fair, and other places where there is any assembly of people, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to attempt untrue and foreign suits, for small trespasses, little offences, and small sums of debt."

* Bishop Short's "Church History."

† "Companion to Charnwood Forest," p. i.

The statute provided that there should be only six attorneys in Norfolk, six in Suffolk, and two in Norwich, by means of which we may charitably hope that tranquillity was restored.

The first establishment in England of public posts for the conveyance of intelligence took place in the year 1481, and is said to have been introduced by Richard the Third, when Duke of Gloucester, by means of post-horses, changed at every twenty miles. Letters were forwarded at the rate of a hundred miles a day.

Representations of the modes of travelling in use at this period are afforded by the diagrams, one of which represents a lady of the fifteenth century being carried on a horse litter, and the other a four-wheeled close carriage of this time. Both of them are copied from illuminations in ancient missals.

The first law about highways was made in the reign of Queen Mary, about the year 1554.

During the fifteenth century the Parliament of England appears to have assumed a decided character, and the qualifications and privileges of its members became known, and distinguished. Physical and constitutional strength, as well as a certain property qualification, were, however, considered essential to their office, and the writs of this period directed the electors to make choice of the wisest and *stoutest* men, that they might be able to endure the fatigues of journeying and close attendance. Privilege from arrest was allowed to the Parliament at this period. The Peers came to Parliament at their own charges; but, towards the close of the fourteenth century, knights of shires received 4s. daily, and burgesses 2s.; which may be estimated at ten times their amount in modern value. The parliaments of this period were frequently of very brief duration, as they often had only one session; and a memorable one which met in 1399 sat but a single day. But that day's work consisted in the deposition of the king, Richard the Second. At any rate the session seldom lasted more than five or six weeks, but there were frequently two meetings in the day, one about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, and the other at two in the afternoon,

and those who were absent were liable to a fine. Some of the laws made by these early parliaments were so perfectly contradictory, that those who observed one law must necessarily violate another.

The judges of this time were obliged to make oath that they would take no fee or bribe from any person having a plea before them, "excepting meat and drink, which should be of no great value. Great complaints were, however, made of the injustice and disregard of their oaths by London juries; and Cardinal Wolsey declared of them that they would find "Abel guilty of Cain's murder."

In my former papers I referred to the early use in this country of the trial by jury; but it is not until the reign of King John that we are able to trace the resort to juries for the trial of criminal accusations. Introduced originally as a matter of favour and indulgence, the system gained ground with advancing civilization, gradually superseding the more ancient and barbarous customs of battle, ordeal, and wager of law; until at length it became, both in civil and criminal cases, the ordinary mode of determining facts for judicial purposes.*

In the ancient liturgies of the Church there were prayers appointed for duellists to say, and the judge used to bid them go to such a church and pray.†

An able writer in one of our leading periodicals observes that—

"It requires no slight effort of the imagination to picture the magnificent position of a baron of England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with his castles and his vassals, his wide lands and brilliant retinue. At the high festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when the king gathered his *comites*, *proceres*, *magnates* about him to hold those great assemblies,—half feasts and half councils, which were the forerunners of regular 'parliaments,'—the English earls and barons crowded to the palace, and their retainers swarmed in the town. The mornings were spent in huntings and tournaments, and the afternoons in free converse and revelry. Banners everywhere

* Paper on Juries in *Law Journal*, vol. ii., p. 118. By G. H.

† Selden's "Table Talk."

met the eye, glittering with the chequered gold and azure of the Warrennes, or the three red chevrons of the Clares, or the favourite lion of other Norman houses, who much favoured that historic beast. At such meetings, in Winchester and Westminster, or other antique places, foreign wars and home grievances were discussed; the wardships of rich damsels were begged from the king's grace; a new earl was solemnly invested by the girding of the sword. The barons and king between them were, unknown to themselves, laying the foundations of our constitution.

"Life in those days was not systematic, but various and vigorous. It abounded in strong contrasts. Powerful chiefs stripped themselves of their coats of mail or their ermine, and retired to religious houses to die monks. You wandered out from a hall where minstrels were singing to lords and ladies drinking out of gold, and were startled in a wood by the tinkling of a leper's bell. . . One lord enters the village on his return to the castle from the Holy Land, with the whole neighbouring convent in procession, singing *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.* Another invades the grounds of the Bishop of Ely at the head of a troop of vassals, kills his game, breaks open his cellars, and allows all his men to get drunk. There was great stateliness and splendour, and reverence both inward and outward for rank; but when Fulk Fitz-Warine was playing chess with Prince John, in the time of Henry II., the prince broke his head with the chess-board, and Fulk gave him a blow which nearly killed him. The same baron, who in some causes would face the king in open war, paid a fine for having a good pipe of wine over from France, or coaxed his sovereign with a batch of lampreys to get him a manor at farm from some opulent earl, or, with a score of palfreys, to induce him to procure him Eleanor de Bisset for a wife. Dark and deep superstitions brooded over men's hearts, and filled earth and sky with terror and mystery; and yet there was no lack of fun either. Jolly fellows, like Walter de Mapes, sang out their drinking catches; minstrels wandered about the country; buffoons, jongleurs, and such like swarmed in the halls of the great. In one sense life was rude and violent. The barons' wars caused great miseries, during which, that castles might be fortified, the houses of the poorest agricultural labourers (says Matthew Paris) 'were rummaged and plundered even of the straw that served for beds.' The ignorance of economic science was such that a bad harvest generally produced something

like a famine. The disturbance of life was so great from turbulence that in 1216 . . . markets and traffic ceased, and goods were exposed for sale only in churchyards. Yet there was abundance of charity from the noble mediæval church. The poor were not huddled out of sight as offensive objects, . . . and there were processions of poor men at every gentleman's funeral. Heavy was the baron's mailed hand, but he had a great heart too. . . . They were stormy men, but the age wanted such. . . . Their public life established a check on the Crown; their private life was the foundation of that great system of order, that body of sentiment and opinion, which lasted in England in one shape or another for centuries, and is really at the bottom of whatever is most beautiful and generous in our social institutions still."*

I will conclude this paper with a general review of the progress of the different arts in this country during the period of which I have been speaking. Painting on glass is supposed to have been first practised in England under King John, and specimens of the mosaic pattern as ancient as 1244 are still existing in the chancel windows of Chetwode Church in Buckinghamshire.

The early practice of pictorial art as regards the execution of designs in tapestry, so far back as the Norman Conquest, has already been alluded to in the famous Bayeux tapestry.

Rude, and barbarous, and ignorant, and unrefined as the men of these days in many respects undoubtedly were, they were, nevertheless, men of wonderful genius, of extraordinary energy, and of fervent piety as well. Of this the noble and sublime cathedrals which they upraised form a striking, and I trust an enduring monument, far exceeding anything which we, with all our boasted science and our advanced civilization, can ever hope to achieve.

Henry the Third enriched the cathedrals that he founded with sculpture and painting to an extent, and with a skill, that called for the commendation of Flaxman.

The illustration of missals and books of chivalry and romance became a favourite pursuit with the nobles, and a lucrative employment to artists.

* *Quarterly Review*, No. 205, pp. 34—36.

The art of tapestry also aided in diffusing a love of painting over the island. Artists were, however, at this time only regarded as common menials of the court; they had their livery suit, their yearly dole, and their weekly wages. A curious memorandum is preserved relating to a work of art, executed for St. Mary's Church in Bristol in the year 1470, in which the artist sets forth that he has completed "an image of God Almighty rising out of a sepulchre," "a heaven made of timber and stained cloth," "hell made of timber and iron-work, with devils in number thirteen." "Item, three pair of angels' wings; four angels made of timber, and well painted."*

The following items are contained in a bill of expenses relating to some works of art at Coventry during the period of which I am now speaking :—"Payd for 2 pound of hayre for the divill's heed, 3s.; mending his nose, 8d.; black canvass for shirts for the damned, 4s.; red buckram for wings of angels (represented by naked children), 7s. Paid for a cote for God, and a payre of gloves, 3s."

English sculpture appears to have made considerable progress during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which is very evident in the sepulchral monuments of this kingdom. They were generally executed in fine stone or alabaster, though they were sometimes carved in wood, covered with metal plates, to which succeeded the art of casting entire effigies in metal, the faces being wrought from masques taken from the dead subject. The first of these cast in England was the figure of Henry III. in 1272, in gilded copper, for Westminster Abbey; which was followed by that of his Queen Eleanor, in brass, in 1290. The figure of Henry V. was of oak, plated with silver, and a head of solid metal, executed in 1442. Some of these monuments of the olden time were very costly.

As regards the progress of architecture in this country, I may observe that towards the close of the eleventh century stone came into general use in large buildings, and even in

* Cuningham's "Lives of British Painters, &c.," vol. i., pp. 4—18.

private houses glass was not uncommon, though it was regarded as a luxury. Arches of stone called bows were in great esteem about the same period. In the year 1087, the church of St. Mary in Cheapside, London, was built on stone arches, whence it received the name of St. Mary-le-Bow; and near the same time Queen Matilda erected the first arched bridge in England at Stratford in Essex, which procured for it the name of Stratford-le-Bow. The old stone London Bridge, with nineteen arches and a drawbridge, was not commenced until 1176.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced the truest and fairest models of Gothic architecture. In those periods were erected many of the most admired English cathedrals, such as York, Winchester, and Salisbury; while the number of priories, abbeys, and religious houses, built in the reign of Henry the Third alone, amounted to 157. The windows of many of these buildings were ornamented with richly stained glass. The fourteenth century was principally distinguished by the rise of that stately kind of buildings, between palaces and fortresses, called castellated mansions, which came into general use in the next century.

The architecture of the fifteenth century is remarkable for exhibiting some of the lightest and most beautiful specimens of English Gothic; noble instances of which are afforded in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and King's College, Cambridge. This period, however, was too much distracted by civil wars to be favourable to architecture, and it is said that no less than sixty villages within twelve miles of Warwick were destroyed, besides numerous castles which were dismantled or demolished. In course of time the character of a fortress began entirely to disappear; and the gloomy baronial castles, which were so frequently the scenes of cruelty, extortion, and blood, gave place to the noble and spacious English mansion, retaining the warlike battlements only as decorations. The general plan of a mansion of this period was that the great hall was nearly opposite the gate-house; at the head of the hall was the parlour, and at the lower end the buttery and

kitchen. At the upper end of the hall an elevated part of the floor was called the dais, whereon stood the high table, which persons of inferior rank were not to approach. The fire was anciently made in the centre of the hall, over which was a screen or funnel for letting out the smoke, as may still be seen in the hall of the Middle Temple. Perches for hawks were also provided. Coats of arms were painted in the windows. In the Anglo-Saxon period chimneys were confined to castles, monasteries, and mansions. In the fourteenth century they were shaped like forges ; and they were very rare until the time of Queen Elizabeth, when they greatly increased. But even in her reign they seem to have been considered an indication of greatness, since excuses were made to visitors, and especially to ladies, if they could not be accommodated in an apartment with a chimney. Coal is said to have been first used in England in the time of Edward III., about the year 1220; and yet in "Baker's Chronicle" it is recorded that Edward I. by proclamation prohibited the burning of sea-coal in London and the suburbs, "for avoyding the noysome smoke." The bedchambers of the fifteenth century were sometimes carpeted instead of being strewed with rushes ; but they appear to have been characterized by nearly the same articles of furniture as those found in the apartments of the Anglo-Saxons. These were commonly a chair and cushion by the bedside, hung with tapestry ; the great chest containing the owner's property ; images either for decoration or devotion ; and rich curtains and hangings to the bed.

Music was patronized extensively by Henry V., who was also a performer on certain instruments. He maintained at his court twelve minstrels, and gave them 100 shillings a year each. This may seem not very liberal pay considering what leading musicians in our day receive ; but we must bear in mind also the immense difference in the value of money in those times and the present. Henry took a sumptuous band of musicians with his army into France, which played before his tent for an hour every night and morning. On his victorious return to England his triumphs were celebrated in music, and

children in white surplices ranged along the streets of London. The song of triumph after the victory at Agincourt is preserved among the "Percy Reliques of Ancient Poetry."

During the fifteenth century, the English language became gradually refined and settled by the productions of the poetical and prose writers of this country. The same improvement was not, however, observable in the speech of the common people; for as labourers had no legal power to send their children to school until the beginning of the fifteenth century, their dialects became even more corrupt and uncouth, so that the people of Kent could not understand those of London. A merchant from London is said to have landed in Kent, and ordered some eggs for refreshment. The landlady said she could not speak French, and to make himself intelligible he was obliged to use an Anglo-Saxon word to show what he wanted. Spelling was also greatly neglected, and each seems to have followed his own taste or turn here. In the sixteenth century, however, the national language was in a great degree formed and settled to its present character; and when the spelling is modernized, the writing of the time becomes perfectly intelligible to any reader of the present day.

The progress of poetry in the fifteenth century does not appear to have been very rapid; but in the beginning of it flourished Sir John Gower, who is considered as the father of English poetry. Geoffrey Chaucer is, however, the first of English versifiers who wrote poetically. Admirable, nevertheless, as Chaucer is as a poet, and beautiful and interesting as are many passages in his writings, I must particularly commend him to your notice on account of the insight which he affords into the "domestic every-day life and manners and customs of our forefathers," during the period of which I have been speaking. The account which he gives of old customs, and of manners in an age long gone by, is highly interesting and graphic, and we acquire thereby a knowledge of the tone of thought and feeling of those times. This is particularly the case where the personages he introduces are made to tell a

tale the result of their own experience. There is much, however, that is very gross; and the morality of the age in which he lived appears to have been extremely loose.

The period which we have been considering is peculiarly the age of romance; and every incident in it seems to afford elements for poetical description and tales of surpassing interest. As we delight to gaze on a savage prospect, and to wander over wilds and among rocks, and through rugged passes, precipices overhanging, and torrents foaming around, although we should be most unwilling to fix our permanent dwelling in such a spot; so the times, the characteristics of which we have been considering, may be highly interesting to view at a distance, and in the mirror of poetry and romance, although they would not be those in which we ourselves should desire to live. Contrasted, however, with the savage state of our primitive forefathers, the ancient Britons, and with the rude ferocity of our early forefathers the Anglo-Saxons, this was a condition of comparative refinement and civilization, although barbarous compared with that to which we have now attained. But as even the degree of civilization is estimated by comparison, perhaps our descendants of 500 years hence may regard us as uncouth and uncivilized as we do our ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Norman forefathers. I much fear for us that the characteristics of our career will appear far less poetic and romantic to our descendants than those of our ancestors do to us.

Of all the innovators of which we stand in awe, time is at once the most powerful and the most relentless. Of all the various subjects that are liable to change by time, manners and customs are the most susceptible. Since the period of which I have been speaking, successive centuries have rolled over the land, and in their course have swept away much that was interesting and curious, as illustrative of the "domestic every-day life and manners and customs of our forefathers," of which only now remain a few fragments that escaped the fury of the storm. Of what was once stately and beautiful, we behold merely the ruins, which testify alike

of the original grandeur of the edifice, and of the enormous extent of the devastation by which its downfall has been wrought. Amidst the darkness in which these distant ages are now enveloped, we are nevertheless able to collect a few trophies from the wrecks that are strewed around, sufficient at least to give us some insight into the character of those times, even if they do not afford us any adequate notion of the glory that has passed away. My object has been to exhibit a faint view of the scene as it existed in all its luxuriance before the storm descended. Although the valiant heroes themselves, who acted their part on the stage of life in that period of our history, have long passed away; yet we are permitted, as it were, through the researches into the annals of those days which have descended to us, to hold converse with their shades, and to read the records of their achievements as inscribed upon their tombs.*

* In reply to certain strictures which have been made upon these papers, the reader may be reminded that in the paper which Dr. Harris some time ago read before the Society, entitled "*Materials for a Domestic History of England*" (Vol. III.), he enumerated the principal sources of original information which ought to be resorted to in the preparation of a series of papers of the nature which he has since read to the Society on *Domestic Every-day Life in this Country*. Dr. Harris, while so engaged, has carefully examined the various Celtic remains in this country and on the Continent, illustrative of the earliest period of our history, and has made numerous drawings as well as ample notes. As regards the Anglo-Saxon period of our history he examined the original manuscripts and missals in the British Museum, and prepared accurate drawings from the illuminations in the latter, which were exhibited as diagrams in connexion with his papers. Respecting the period of the Norman Conquest he has paid successive visits to Normandy and carefully examined the Castle of Falaise, the remains at Caen, and also the Bayeux tapestry, making notes upon them, and also drawings from which diagrams illustrative of the papers of this period have been prepared. In preparing his papers on the Middle Ages, he has consulted the valuable missals and manuscripts in the British and other Museums, and prepared diagrams illustrative of his subject from the illuminations contained in them; he also undertook several journeys to examine objects of historical interest which might throw light on his subject.

Dr. Harris originated the proposal for the Historical Manuscript Commission which he brought forward in a paper read before a society, describing generally the various collections of original papers applicable for the purposes of history, of some of which he had made extensive use. Nevertheless, as the Pictorial History of England contains one of the most complete and interesting records of the domestic history of this country which has ever been prepared, including copious references to manuscripts and State papers, Dr. Harris has not hesitated to make use of and to refer to it either for supplying links that were wanting to complete the chain of his own narrative, or to confirm the conclusions at which he had arrived in his original researches. The light thrown upon manners and customs by the quaint extracts from Baker's Chronicle—an authority, moreover, not accessible to all—amply justifies their insertion.

The materials for, and diagrams of the papers on domestic life in the ancient world were mainly prepared from subjects obtained at Rome, Pompeii, and other places on the Continent, during visits which Dr. Harris paid there mainly for this purpose ; some etchings on copper-plate were executed by Dr. Harris from certain of his sketches, impressions of which he will be happy to present to any members of the Society who may apply for them through the Secretary, or at the Society's rooms.

EDITOR.

THE CORPORATION OF BEDFORD.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

By GEORGE HURST, Esq., Alderman and Ex-Mayor of Bedford,
Fellow of the Statistical Society and of the Royal Historical Society.

Bedford was occupied by the Romans, but in their time it does not appear to have been a place of much importance. Under the Saxon rule it became of greater consideration, was the scene of many severe conflicts, and was much favoured by Offa, King of the Mercians, who chose it as his place of sepulture. In the Saxon period the town acquired municipal privileges. It was a corporation by prescription till the reign of Henry I., but the earliest charter now extant was granted by Henry II., who confirmed all the liberties and free customs which the burgesses enjoyed in the reign of Henry I.

Charters and letters patent confirmatory of the first charter, and extending the privileges of the burgesses, were granted in subsequent reigns.

By the charter of Henry II. the town and its appurtenances, liberties, and free customs were conceded to the burgesses for the payment of a fee-farm rent of forty pounds standard silver. This was ratified by the charters of Richard I. and Henry III. A guild merchant, with liberties and customs in land, in islands, in pastures, and other appurtenances was established. The greater portion of the land and property of the town external to the castle, seems to have been conceded to the burgesses—an opinion justified by the large amount of fee-farm rent—forty pounds ; the price of wheat at the period rarely exceeded seven shillings and sixpence per quarter. The established price of ale in cities was one penny for two gallons,

but it was even cheaper in the country. Interest of money was sometimes charged fifty per cent.

The royal charters granted to Bedford provide that "no one who is not of that guild shall do any merchandising with them in borough, or town, or precincts." They enjoyed the privileges of freedom "from toll and frontage, and stallage and lastage, and passage, and from assarts, and from all other customs throughout all England and Normandy, by land and by water, by sea-shore beach, by land and by strand, in common with the citizens of Oxford, and may do their merchandising in common with the citizens of Oxford, within London and without; and should any doubt or dispute arise, they may send their messengers to Oxford, and what the citizens of Oxford shall herein adjudge, that same without doubt shall be confirmed, as the burgesses of Bedford and the citizens of Oxford are of the same custom, law, and liberty."

A reference was made by the Corporation to the citizens of Oxford about the year 1560, when certain questions were put to them. The answer given under the corporate seal of Oxford is preserved among the records of the borough. The burgesses were to have the privilege of soc and sac, which gave the right to try causes and impose fines, and of thol and theam and infangthef, or the right of exacting toll and recovering stolen goods.

The freemen of Bedford enjoyed equally with the citizens of London the right of buying and selling, in that city and elsewhere. Any trespass within the borough was adjudicated by the mayor and bailiffs, as in the city of London. Civil actions were also decided in the mayor's court. The forestalling of victuals, coming to the borough for sale, was prohibited on pain of imprisonment and forfeiture.

All persons who did not belong to their guild were prohibited from retailing wines or other goods.

In the charter of Henry VI. the fee-farm rent was reduced to twenty pounds a year for sixty years, on account of the impoverished state of the town. It is stated in the new charter that of one hundred houses formerly good and sub-

stantial the ground only on which they stood remained, and that one hundred and eighty other tenements were left desolate, while the profits from courts, tolls, and customs of the markets, and fairs, amounted to only 20s. 4d. This decayed state of the town was attributed to a bridge then recently built over the river Ouse at Barford, giving a different direction to the traffic, which recently passed through Bedford. This was doubtless one cause, but it may be questioned whether the destruction of the castle, which occurred in the reign of Henry III., and the national troubles of succeeding times, might not have had a depressing influence on the borough's prosperity. During the reign of Henry VII. the release of the fee-farm rent, with the exception of twenty pounds per annum, was made perpetual by the intercession of Sir Reginald Bray; it was afterwards reduced to £16 5s. 8d. In gratitude for the good service rendered by Sir Reginald Bray in obtaining the reduction of the rent, the Corporation conferred upon him the patronage of St. Leonard's Hospital, a house in which were "six freres chapleynes."

The Mayor and bailiffs were the returning officers of the members of Parliament of the borough, and were also judges in the Court of Pleas. To remunerate them for their services they received the rent of a portion of the corporate estate, which was called the bailiffs' allotment.

The Corporation were empowered to grant the freedom of the borough, a privilege indispensable to enable persons to follow any occupation within the boundaries. The privilege of conferring the freedom was ultimately used to serve electioneering purposes. In 1769 five hundred non-resident freemen were admitted to secure the return of Sir Robert Barnard, who afterwards became the Borough Recorder. Sir Robert advanced to the Corporation £950, but a receipt dated 1797 in discharge of principal and interest was endorsed upon the security, and signed by his executors, although the Corporation had not paid anything on account of the mortgage. This mortgage passed into the hands of a Mr. Monkhouse, who instituted a suit in Chancery against the

Corporation. The result was that the Corporation had to pay the whole with costs, so that under the decree of the court the sum payable was £2,528 15s. 4d. To liquidate this serious charge, in addition to other resources, the Corporation sold a portion of their lands.

The Council of the Corporation consisted of a Mayor, an uncertain number of Aldermen, thirteen Common Councilmen, two Bailiffs, a Recorder, a deputy Recorder, the Town Clerk, and two Chamberlains. There were two orders of freemen,—some who were designated Burgesses, and were eligible for a seat in the Council ; all the sons of whom, born after the father had become a burgess, were entitled to the burgess-ship on attaining the adult age. The freemen, simply so called, were eligible for minor offices under the Corporation, and the eldest son born after the father had acquired his immunity, was entitled to the freedom.

The minor offices of the Corporation to which the freemen were eligible, were the Mayor's Sergeant, the two Bailiffs' Sergeants, the Crier, the Beadle, the Hall-keeper, Field-divers, Bucket-keepers, Ale-tasters, Fish and Flesh searchers, and Wood and Chimney searchers. The four last-named officers were appointed for regulating the use of buckets in case of fire, and for ensuring the quality of ale and provisions sold in the town.

The insignia of the Corporation consist of a mayor's mace, two bailiffs' maces, and two ornamented staves carried by beadles. The mayor's mace has its top of silver, ornamented with a handsome gilded crown. The bailiffs' maces are of smaller size. The official costume of the mayor was a scarlet cloth robe trimmed with black velvet ; he also wore a cocked hat. The councilmen wore rich dark purple silk robes, trimmed with black velvet, and cocked hats. The town clerk's costume was a black cloth robe, and the mayor's sergeant wore an ornamented black gown.

After the passing of the Municipal Reform Act the use of the official dress was discontinued, and the members attended church to meet the judges in ordinary apparel, and, as

might have been expected, were not recognised by their lordships. Since the year 1856, the mayor and aldermen have resumed their robes, *minus* cocked hats.

Early in the last century, Gilda Mercatoria were abolished, and the freedom of the borough was no longer required to carry on business in the borough. Though the Council had not become a strictly self-elected body, the members were chosen chiefly by corporate influence. It was in the Council arranged who were to be elected, and two lists were prepared, one called the Bull list, proposed by the upper house or aldermen, and the other, called the Bear list, proposed by the lower house, or the common councilmen. The freemen were summoned to attend in one of the courts in the County Hall, when the lists were offered. On the Bear list being put, the assembled freemen shouted, "None, none, none!" but when the Bull list was offered for their approval they unanimously called out "All, all, all!" and the business terminated. Once a poll was demanded, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion, but after some altercation the demand was withdrawn.

The freemen who attended to give their votes, each received one shilling for loss of time, and another shilling for refreshments.

In the records of the Corporation for 1612, certain rules are set down, which are stated to be in accordance with the ancient usage of the borough, relative to the election of the mayor, bailiffs, and chamberlains.

It was ordained that any burgess having a freehold or inheritance of the yearly value of ten marks, and having served the offices of chamberlain and bailiff, might be elected mayor, and in case of his refusal to serve, he should forfeit twenty pounds. A further ordinance was passed at a Leet held on the 10th of January, 1649, which set forth that "the mayor, recorder, deputy recorder, aldermen, and bailiffs, or such of them as shall assemble, shall nominate three persons, one to be mayor, and two to be bailiffs;" a like number were to be nominated by those of the representative body,

while, out of these six persons, the burgesses and freemen should elect to the offices. A like method was to be observed with respect to the election of the chamberlains and bridge-warden; all these offices were to be filled by members of the Council, who should rise by gradation from the lower to the higher status.

The Council dispensed with the rule of rising by gradation seven times from 1649 to 1768, when the legality of so doing was questioned. In 1768 the Upper House nominated Thomas Coe, and the Lower House John Heaven; and it was ordered that on Monday, the 5th of September, "they be put in nomination, and serve the office of mayor should either of them be chosen into that office, notwithstanding they have not executed the office of bailiff or chamberlain." Against these nominations, the deputy recorder, Mr. A. Reddall, and three of the aldermen, Henry Flemming, John Hornbuckle, and Thomas Knight protested, on account of their not being duly qualified, while they together nominated Mr. Richards, a gentleman who had served the office of bailiff.

The electors determined to maintain the old regulation of rising to office by gradation; for at the close of the poll the number of votes was, for Richards 95, for Coe 8, and for Heaven 18. Notwithstanding the result of the poll, Mr. Gidney Phillips, the retiring mayor, persisted in admitting Heaven to office. His obstinacy in resisting the popular choice involved the borough in legal proceedings in the Court of King's Bench. A compromise was entered into, but by some arrangement Heaven continued in office for the year. Ultimately the rule of gradation was relaxed; and previous to the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, not a few mayors attained office without passing the preliminary degrees.

EARLY LAWS AND CUSTOMS IN GREAT BRITAIN REGARDING FOOD.

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All matters connected with the Food Supply to the people of a great and progressive nation may be regarded as of historical interest. I do not on the present occasion propose to do more than glance at some of the incidents which are associated with this large question; but even these, it will be seen, take a much wider range than at first sight might seem probable; and my effort has been rather in the direction of limiting than of expanding the scope of the inquiry, except that I have had to make the survey a national one, and not limit it to any one portion of the kingdom. Of course London, as the capital, and as the usual seat of government during the period our inquiry covers, absorbs the chief attention.

There can be no doubt that regulations regarding the food supply prevailed long before the era of written laws, when the royal will was proclaimed from the market cross; but all such became at a later period traditionary. My purpose here is to deal, in the main, with those things which have taken the shape of recorded history, and these take either of several shapes, as Ordinances, Acts of Grace, Letters Mandatory, Inquisitions, Charters, Proclamations, Acts of Common Council, and all such modes of declaring the royal will and promulgating the authority of Parliament, or of municipal centres, as the fellows of this society are of necessity so familiar with. The statutes of the realm, and the statutes at large, together with the records

of the corporation of our great city, are the sources upon which I mainly rely. I ought to add that much of that which follows will be found (in a different order of arrangement) in my "History of the Famines of the World," now in course of publication, many additional notes on special points being however here given.

1. Fixed Prices for Food and Drink.

It would seem perhaps natural in a primitive state of society that prices of the ordinary necessaries of life should be fixed by arbitrary enactment, but such an experiment would soon make it apparent that even the will of the sovereign cannot combat successfully with the ordinary laws of supply and demand. What the facts were, as also the pertinacity of the attempts, notwithstanding some very frank confessions of failure will be seen in what follows.

A.D. 1217. 2 Henry III. The first record I have found of fixed prices commences at this date, when ale was ordered to be sold in cities, two gallons for 3d., and three or four gallons in the country for the same price. By whom the order was made is not stated.

1276. Edward I. The king commanded the mayor and aldermen of London to make statutes for governing the hucksters of fish and fowl. A record of what was done under it is to be found in the *Horn Book* of the Corporation of the City: see the title of "Statuta de poletria et pisce facta tempore Mairoratus Henry de Waleys," viz.,—

"Tempore Henrici de Waleys, &c., *i.e.*, in the time of Henry de Walys, maior of London, Nicholas de Winton, Henry de Coventre, sheriffs by the command of the lord the king, with the assent and consent of the great men of the kingdom and citizens aforesaid, it was ordained that no huckster of fowle [mango avium] go out of the city to meet them that bring poultry, to the city, to make any buying from them; but buy in the city, after the buyers of the lord the king, of the barons, and the citizens, have brought and had what shall be needful for them, namely after 3 o'clock and not before.

And then let them buy thus: That they may afford an hen of the better sort for 3*d. ob.* And two pullets of the better sort for 3*d. ob.* And one capon of the better sort for 2*d. ob.* And from Easter to Whitsuntide a better homefed goose for 5*d.* And from Whitsuntide to St. Peter's ad Vincula, for 4*d.* And from that festival throughout the whole year always, one of the better sort for 3*d.* Also for a wild goose of the better sort, 4*d.* Three young pigeons of the better sort for 1*d.* One mallard for 3*d. ob.* And two cercels for 3*s.* And two wydch [wild ducks] for 3*d. ob.* And four begaters 1*d.* And a dozen larks 1*d.* One better feasant 4*d.* One better botor for 6*d.* A better heron 6*d.* One better corlune 3*d.* One better plover 1*d.* One swan for 3*s.* One better crane for 3*s.* A better peacock for 12*d.* A better coney with the skin 4*d.* And without the skin 3*d.* The flesh of a good hare 3*d. ob.* One kid from Christmas to Lent, of the better sort, for 10*d.* At other times of the year for 6*d.* One better lamb between Christmas and Lent for 6*d.* And at other times of the year for 4*d.*

"It is also ordained that no huckster of fish, or fishmonger who sells again to others, go out to meet those that bring or carry in fish to the city, to make a forestal thence; nor have any partnership with a stranger, who brings from the sea to the city; but let them seek for fish in their own ships, and permit foreigners to bring it, and to sell when they are come in their own ships. Because by such partnership they who are of the city, and have known the state of the city, and the defect of victuals, will hold the fish at a greater dearness than foreigners who shall not have known it. And also they who are of the city, when they cannot sell as they will, lay it up in cellars, and sell dearer than the strangers would do if they came without partnership, and knew [not] where they might be harboured.

"Nor let them buy anything in the city until the king's servants, &c., have bought, and not before 3 o'clock. And if they who have brought fish shall come after 3 o'clock, let them not sell that day, but let them sell on the morrow morning. And if they expect more let the fish be taken into the lord king's hand, and let them keep no fish, except salt fish, beyond the second day of their coming. Which if it shall happen to be found let them lose their fish, and be at the mercy of the Lord the king [to fine them].

"And thus let the hucksters, *i.e.* the fishmongers, buy, that they afford,

"A better plaise for 3*d. ob.*, a middling one for 1*d.*, and others less, as consequently they seem to be worth.

"Also twelve better soles for 3*d.*, and others as they are worth. Also a better conger for 12*d.*, others as they may be worth.

"A better turbot for 6*d.*, and others as they are worth.

"A gallon of oysters for 2*d.*

"A better fresh salmon between Christmas and Easter for 5*s.* And after Easter for 3*s.* And others middling and less as they are worth. . . . .

"One lampred of nauntes, in their first coming, and of the better sort, for a month, for 16*d.* And after a better lampred for 8*d.* And after Easter for 6*d.*

"Also, one better fresh lamprey, of Severne or Thames, between the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the middle of Lent, for 4*d.* And after the middle of Lent to Easter for 2*d.*

"And let the lampreys of nauntes be sold in the public market wherein they are accustomed to be sold, and not in houses, unless they be hid by night.

"And let merchant strangers come to the city, make there abode there and do as they have been wont to do."

I have greatly curtailed the list of fishes enumerated in the ordinance, partly on the ground of space, and especially because the names they bear therein are now unknown to us.

1283–4.—The Gild of the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed the ordinances of which were consolidated this year, contained the following :—

"Mutton shall not be sold from Easter to Whitsuntide at dearer than xvj*d.* the carcase ; from Whitsuntide to the Feast of St. James [July 25th] at dearer than xij*d.* ; thence to Michaelmas at dearer than x*d.* ; thence to Easter at dearer than viij*d.* Whoever breaks this assize shall pay a fine of viij*s.*

"No woman shall sell ale from Easter till Michaelmas at dearer than ij*d.* a gallon ; nor from Michaelmas to Easter at dearer than a penny. And the names of the alewives shall be registered."

1314.—8 Edward II. At this period the king again attempted to come to the rescue of the city, by setting a "reasonable price" on flesh and fowl, in the ordination which follows :—

Edwardus *Dei Gratia*, &c.—Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitan, to the Sheriffs of London, greeting. "We have heard the complaint of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and others of the commonality of our kingdom, by their petition exhibited before us and our council: containing that there is a great and, as it were, intolerable dearth, in these days, of oxen, cows, sheep, hogs, geese, capons, hens, chickens, pigeons, and eggs; to the no little loss and grievance of them and all others dwelling within the same kingdom. For which they have besought us instantly that we would take care to provide upon this concerning some suitable remedy.

"We therefore yielding to the aforesaid supplication for the common profit of the people of the said kingdom, as it seemed expedient to us, have ordained, with the counsel and assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others, being of our council, in our last parliament held at Westminster:

"That a better sort ox, alive, saleable, fat, not fed of grain, be sold for the time to come for 16*s.*, and not above. Or that if it be fed with grain, and be fat, then to be sold for 24*s.* at most.

"And that a better sort of cow, alive, and fat, be sold for 12*s.*

"A hogg, two years old, and fat, for 40*d.*

"A sheared mutton, fat, for 14*d.*

"A fat goose for 2*d. ob.* In our city aforesaid for 3*d.*

"A capon, good and fat, for 2*d.*, and 2*d. ob.*

"A fat hen for a 1*d.*, and 1*d. ob.*

"Two chickens for 1*d.*, and 1*d. ob.*

"Three [four overwritten] young pigeons for 1*d.*

"Twenty eggs for 1*d.*

"And that if it happen to be found, that any persons, or any one person, will not sell these saleable things for the price appointed, as is before set forth, then the said saleable things shall remain forfeited to us. And we will that the aforesaid ordination from this time be firmly and inviolably observed in our said city.

"We command, firmly enjoining you, that in our city aforesaid and suburb of the same, where ye shall see it to be expedient, that the aforesaid ordination be publickly and distinctly proclaimed; and that ye cause the same from time [*sic*] to be inviolably observed in all and each its articles, under the aforesaid forfeiture, throughout the whole bailifwic. And this omit by no means, as you will avoid

our indignation, and preserve yourselves without blame. Witness myself at Westminster this 14th day of March in the eighth year of our reign."

This ordination was afterwards extended through the whole kingdom, in all cities, boroughs, villages, &c. "But" (in the language of STOW) "the king was fain the next year to send a brief of reclamation of his former ordination, finding it did more harm than good." It was as follows :—

"The king to the sheriffs of London, greeting: Although we lately commanded you that in each place in the aforesaid city, where it should seem to you to be best expedient, ye should cause it to be publickly proclaimed, that oxen, cows, hogs, sheep, geese, capons, hens, chickens, pigeons and eggs should be sold at a certain price. Because, nevertheless, we have understood that such a proclamation, which at the time we believed would be for the profit of the people of our realm, redounds to their greater damage than profit, We command you, that in the said several places ye cause publicly to be proclaimed, that oxen, cows, hogs, sheep, geese, capons, hens, chickens, young pigeons and eggs be sold for a reasonable price, as was accustomed to be done before the said former proclamation; certifying all and singular that the former proclamation was not made by virtue of the ordination late made by the prelates, earls, and barons, and nobles, of the same realm, and by us accepted, nor was contained in them. Witness myself at Lincoln, the 20th February, in the ninth year of our reign."

This frank confession of errors in judgment, and outstretching of authority in the matter of government, has a novelty about it to which we moderns are not accustomed.

1349.—By the 23 Edward III., cap. 6, "Victual shall be sold at reasonable prices," it is enacted as follows :—

"*Item*—That butchers, fishmongers, regrators, hostlers, brewers, bakers, poulters, and all other sellers of all manner of victual, *shall be bound to sell the same victual for a reasonable price, having respect to the price that such victual be sold at in the places adjoining, so that the same seller have moderate gains, and not excessive*, reasonably to be required according to the distance of the place from whence the said victual be carried. (2) And if any sell such victuals in any

other manner, and therefore be convict in the manner and form aforesaid, he shall pay the double of the same that he so received to the party damnified, or, in default of him to any other that will pursue in this behalf. (3) And the mayors and bailiffs of cities, boroughs, merchant towns, and others, and of the ports of the sea, and other places, shall have power to inquire of all and singular which shall in anything offend the same; and to levy the said pain to the use of them at whose suit such offender shall be convict."

If the mayors, bailiffs, &c., were themselves engaged on their duties in this regard they were to be grievously punished.

1357.—By the 31 Edward III., statute 2—"An ordinance made concerning the selling of herrings," after certain provisions against forestalling, which will be found under another head, proceeded to enact that the "hundred" of herrings should consist of six score, and the "last" of ten thousand. Thus,—

"And that the merchants of Yarmouth, of London, or elsewhere, shall sell the thousand of herrings to the people after the rate of the price of the last; and that two lasts of shotten-herring fresh shall be sold for the price of the rate of the buying of a last of full herring. And that the people of Yarmouth sell the last of red herring bought for 40*s*. fresh, or for less than 40*s*. for half a mark of gain and not above. And that the people of London at such fair, shall bring the last from Yarmouth to London for one mark of gain and not above."

In this year also was promulgated, "an ordinance concerning the salt fish of Blakeney," which recites,—

"Whereas it is shown to our lord the king by the commons of his realm of England, in his parliament holden at Westminster the Monday next after the week of Easter, in the year of the reign of our lord, the king, that is to say of England, the 31st, and of France the 18th, *that salt fish of Blakeney, and of the coasts adjoining are, and heretofore have been sold at too high an excessive price*, to the great damage of our lord the king, of the great men, and of all the people of the said realm, whereof the said commons do pray a remedy; our lord the king desiring to make amendment therein, for relief of his people, ... hath ordained and established concerning the sale of the said fish in manner following."

Then follow the enactments :—

"1. First, it is ordained that all the ships called doggers and lodeships, pertaining to the Haven of Blackney, and coasts thereunto adjoining, that is to say, Saterley, Wineton, Clay, Salthouse, Shiringham and Crowmer, shall deliver or discharge their fish within the Haven of Blackney only, betwixt Renord and Hogfleet, and in none other place, upon pain of imprisonment at the king's will, and forfeiture of the same fish. And that no fish be delivered nor carried out of the ship to any house, nor elsewhere before that the owner of the ship wherein the said fish is charged, and the merchant that shall buy the fish, be agreed of the price of the same by clear day."

2. (In abstract.) The buyer only shall handle the fish. The price of dogger fish was to be settled at the beginning of Blakeney fair. Fish was not to be kept in houses to be sold by retale. "And that no man buy nets, hooks, nor other instruments pertaining to fishing, in the county of Norfolk, but owners, masters, and mariners of ships that use the mystery of fishing, and which have to do with such things, upon pain of imprisonment, and to be ransomed at the king's will, and to forfeit the things so bought." Six chosen men were to be present at the delivery of the fish, "to search for orgeys," &c.

1360-61.—By the 35 Edward III.—"An ordinance of herring" —the ordinance of 1357 was modified after the following recital of the causes therefor :—

"Because that the hosts of our town of Great Yarmouth would lodge the fishers coming there with their herring in the time of the fair, will not suffer the said fishers to sell their herrings, nor to meddle with the sale of the same, but sell them at their own will, as dear as they will, and give the fishers that that pleaseth them, so that the fishers do withdraw themselves to come there, and the herring was set at a greater dearth than it was before."

And again,—

"Because it is showed to us and our council by petition in this present parliament, that the sale of herring is much decayed, and the people greatly endangered by the points aforesaid [the provisions of the ordinance of 1357], that is to say, that many merchants coming to the fair, as well as labourers and servants, as other do bargain for

herring, and even of them by malice and envy increase upon other, and if one prefer 40*s.*, another will prefer 10*s.* more, and the third 60*s.*, and so every one surmounteth other in the bargain, and such profers extend to more than the price of the herring upon which the fishers proferred it to sell in the beginning; and when every man claimeth his part of the herring for the price accorded, shall have his part, and the herring be so divided amongst them that the fisher is so much grieved and delayed in the gathering of his money, that he should demand of so many persons, that he loseth his tides, and the advantage of his fishing; and also herein, that no fresh herring is put to sale but from the sun-rising till the sun going down, and not before nor after, which is to the great loss of fishers, and appairing of the herring, and damage of the people that shall buy the same, for the fishing is more by night than by day, and often it chanceth that the fishers be so distant and so laden that they come to the town after the sun going down, or little before, so that they cannot sell their herring in the time for the sale limited, so that they must abide all the night and day after upon the sale of their herring, and lose many tides and the profits of their fishing; we perceiving the mischiefs and grievances aforesaid, granted that all persons might buy herring openly, not privily; *no man was to interrupt another in a bargain of herring, nor bid upon him*, and fishermen might sell their herring as soon as they arrived."

In fact matters got back to much as they were before the first ordinance of herring, except that there was to be no competition in the sales, otherwise the price could not remain fixed!

1362.—An Act regulating the price of poultry was passed, viz., 37 Edward III., cap. 3, which was as follows:—

"*Item.*—For the great dearth that is in many places of the realm, of poultry, it is ordained, that the price of a young capon shall not pass iij*d.*, and of an old iiij*d.*, of an hen ij*d.*, of a pullet j*d.*, of a goose iiij*d.*, and in places where the prices of such victuals be less, they shall hold without being enhanced by this ordinance; and that in the towns and markets of uplands they shall be sold at a less price, according as may be agreed betwixt the seller and the buyer; and justices shall be thereupon assigned by commission to put the thing duly in execution."

During part of this reign a quarter of wheat sold in certain localities for 2s.

1401.—By 4 Henry IV., cap. 8, the enactment of 13 Richard II., statute 1, cap. 8 (1389-90), was confirmed, regarding the price to be charged by hostellers for horse-bread and oats.

1536.—By 28 Henry VIII., cap. 14—"For prices of wines," it was enacted —

"That no person or persons shall sell any *Gascoin*, *Geryen*, or *French* wines above viij*d.* the gallon, that is to say, a penny the pint, twopence the quart, fourpence the bottle, and eightpence the gallon, upon pain of forfeiture for every pint sold above that price if iv*d.* . . . And that no Malmesys, Romneys, sacks, nor other local wines shall be sold by retail above xij*d.* the gallon, vi*d.* the pottle, iij*d.* the quart, i*d. ob.* the pint, upon pain," &c. The prices of wines sold in the gross were to be assessed by the king's great officers, viz., the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Lord President of the Council, &c.

1548.—By a statute enacted this year we learn that trades-unionism is not a new feature—that is, new in our own time; this measure is the 2 and 3 Edward VI., cap. 15—"The bill of conspiracies of victuallers and craftsmen," which recites:—

"Forasmuch as of late divers sellers of victuals, not contented with moderate and reasonable gain, but minded to have and to take for their victuals so much as list them, have conspired and covenanted together to sell their victuals at unreasonable prices; (2) and likewise artificers, handicraftmen and labourers have made their confederalls and promises, and have sworn mutual oaths, not only that they should not meddle one with another's, and perform and finish that another hath begun, but also to constitute and appoint how much work they shall do in a day, and what hours and times they shall work, contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm, and to the great hurt and impoverishment of the king's majesty's subjects."

For reformation whereof it was enacted,—

"That if any butchers, brewers, bakers, poulterers, cooks, costermongers, or fruiterers shall at any time from and after the 1st day of March next coming, conspire, covenant, promise, or make any oaths,

that they shall not sell their victuals but at certain prices . . shall forfeit for the first offence 10*l.* to the king's highness, or twenty days imprisonment on bread and water; and for the second offence 20*l.*, or the pillory, and for the third offence 40*l.* and the pillory with loss of one of his ears," and also shall at all times after that be taken as a man infamous, and his saying, depositions on oath, not to be credited at any time in matters of judgment.

If any such conspiracy were entered into by the Company of Victuallers, then their corporation to be dissolved.

1572.—Sir Lionel Ducket, mayor. This year there was "imprinted on a sheet, by J. Day, the city printer," a tariff of the prices of poultry, with a preface as follows :—

"Forasmuch as through the greedie couetousness of the poulters, the prices of all poultrie wares within the citie and the liberties thereof are growen to be excessive and unreasonable, not only to the perillous example of all manner of people throughout the whole realme that do sell poultrie wares, but also to the great charges of all noblemen, men of worship, and gentlemen, that do keepe any houses within this citie, or neere the same ;

"For reformation whereof, it is ordered by my lord maior and court of aldermen, that all maner of persons, as well poulterers as others, that shall after this present 5th day of April, in the xiiij year of the queenes maiesties reign, sell any poultry wares within this citie and the liberties thereof, shall observe and keep these prices following."

Then follows detailed list of prices to be charged in "shops" and in the "markets."

1632.—The expense of living in the metropolis is said to have increased considerably about this time. The poor's rates in the country also went up. These incidents were attributed to the nobility and gentry living constantly with their families in London. In the following year several regulations were made by the Star Chamber for bringing down the prices of provisions and of horse meat in London and Westminster. The wretchedness of the poor was in some degree ascribed to the fraudulent practices of bakers. Ordinaries were limited to 2s. a head for dinner (wine in

cluded), and to 8d. a head for a servant attending his master. Respecting innkeepers, it is said that, "considering the present price of hay and oats, 6d. a night for hay and stable room, and 6d. a peck for oats were sufficient, without anything being allowed for litter."—RYM. FŒD., xix, 476.

2. THE ASSIZE OF BREAD, ALE, AND OTHER CONSUMABLES.

Any attempted limitation of prices soon made it apparent that attention must be paid to *quality* as well as *quantity*. The early discovery of this fact led to the establishment of an Assize of Bread and Ale, and this was afterwards extended to other commodities.

So important did our ancestors deem this Assize of Bread to be, that prices and quality of the different kinds of bread as determined by it were formerly promulgated through the medium of the weekly Bill of Mortality in London, of which I give an instance under date 1774.

1203.—3 John. The first statute in England regulating the sale of bread, as to its weight and price, was the *Assiza Panis* of this year. The chief justiciary and a baker commissioned by the king had the inspection of the assize.—MATTHEW PARIS.

I have never met with an authentic copy of this reported statute, and therefore prefer to fall back upon that of A.D. 1266 (51 Henry III.), as given in the *Statutes of the Realm*.

1266.—The statute under this date is usually designated the *Assiza Panis et Cervisiæ* (the assize of bread and ale), and mostly embodies the following introductory paragraph :—"The king, to whom all these presents shall come, greeting. We have seen certain ordinances of the assize of bread and ale, and of the making of money and measure, made in the times of our progenitors, sometimes kings of England in these words." Then follows the enactment, as translated from the Latin.

"When a quarter of wheat is sold for xii *d.* then wastel bread of a farthing shall weigh vi *l.* and xvj *s.* But bread cockit [of a farthing] of the same coin and bushel, shall weigh more than wastel by ii *s.*; and [cocket bread] made of corn of lower price shall weigh more than wastel by v *s.* Bread made into a simnel shall weigh ii *s.* less than wastel [because it is twice baked]. Bread made of the whole wheat shall weigh a cocket and a half, that is to say a cocket shall weigh more than a wastel by v *s.* Bread of treet shall weigh ii wastels. And bread of [all sorts of common] shall weigh two great cockets.

"When a quarter of wheat is sold for xviii *d.* then wastel bread of a farthing, white and well baked, shall weigh iv *l.* x *s.* viii *d.*

When for ii *s.*..... iii *li.* viii *s.*	When for xi *s.* vi *d.* xi *s.* x *d.*
„ ii *s.* vi *d.* liv *s.* iv *d. ob. q.*	„ xii *s.*..... xi *s.* iv *d.*
„ iii *s.*.....[xlviii *s.*]	„ xii *s.* vi *d.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*
„ iii *s.* vi *d.* [xlii *s.*]	„ xiii *s.* ..... 10*s.* 5½*d.*
„ iv *s.*.....[xxxvi *s.*]	„ xiii *s.* vi *d.* 10*s.* -¾*d.*
„ iv *s.* vi *d.* xxx *s.*	„ xiiii *s.* ..... 9*s.* 8*d.*
„ v *s.*.....xxvii *s.* ii *d. ob.*	„ xiiii *s.* vi *d.* 9*s.* 2¾*d.*
„ v *s.* vi *d.* xxiv *s.* viii *d. q.*	„ xv *s.* ..... 9*s.* 2*d.*
„ vi *s.*..... xxii *s.* viii *d.*	„ xv *s.* vi *d.* 8*s.* 9½*d.*
„ vi *s.* vi *d.* xx *s.* xi *d.*	„ xvi *s.* ..... 8*s.* 6*d.*
„ vii *s.*..... xiv *s.* [i *d.*]	„ xvi *s.* vi *d.* 8*s.* 2¾*d.*
„ vii *s.* vi *d.* xvii *s. id. ob.*	„ xvii *s.* ..... 8*s.*
„ viii *s.*..... xvii *s.*	„ xvii *s.* vi *d.* 7*s.* 9½*d.*
„ viii *s.* vi *d.* xvi *s.*	„ xviii *s.* ..... 7*s.* 6¾*d.*
„ ix *s.*..... xv *s. q.*	„ xviii *s.* vi *d.* 7*s.* 4¼*d.*
„ ix *s.* vi *d.*.....xiv *ob. q.*	„ xix *s.* ..... 7*s.* 2*d.*
„ x *s.*.....*s.* iv*d.* xiii *s.* viii *s.*	„ xix *s.* vi *d.* 7*s.* 11½*d.*
„ x *s.* vi. *d* xii *s.* xi *d. q.*	„ xx *s.* ..... 6*s.* 9¾*d.*
„ xi *s.*..... xii *s.* iv *d. q.*	

"*Gain to the Baker.*—And it is to be known, that then a baker in every quarter of wheat, as it proved by the king's bakers, may gain vi *d.* and the bran and two loves [for advantage], for three servants *id. ob.*, for two lads *ob.*, in salt *ob.*, for kneading *ob.*, for candle *q*, for wood [ii *d.*] for is butel *ob.*

"*Assize of Ale.*—When a quarter of wheat is sold for iii *s.* or iii *s.* iv *d.*, and a quarter of barley for xx *d.*, or ii *s.*, and a quarter of oats for xvi *d.*, then brewers in cities ought and may well afford to sell two gallons of beer or ale for a penny, and out of cities to sell

iii [or four] gallons for a penny, and when in a town iii gallons are sold for a penny, out of town they ought and may sell four; and this assise ought to be holden throughout all England."

There were contained in this statute regulations for the punishment of bakers and brewers offending against its provisions. This will be reviewed under the head of *Bakers, Bakehouses, &c.*, in another part of this paper.

1266.—In the *Judicium Pillorie* (the judgment of the pillory), which is usually dated back to this year (1266) is contained the following clauses:—

"First, they shall inquire the price of wheat, that is to wit, how a quarter of the best wheat was sold the last market day, and how the second wheat, and how the third, and how a quarter of barley, and oats.

"After, how the baker's bread [in the court doth agree], that is to wit, wastel and other bread after wheat of the best, or of the second, or of the third price.

"Also upon how much increase or decrease in the price of [a quarter of] wheat a baker ought to change the assise and weight of his bread.

"Also how much the wastel of a farthing ought to weigh, and all other manner of bread after the price of a quarter of wheat that they present."

1285.—In *Statutum de Pistoribus*, &c. (statute concerning bakers, &c.), sometimes attributed to 51 Henry III., but appearing more probably to belong to this reign, 13 Edward I., is contained the following:—

"*Here begineth the rule for punishing the infringers of the assise of bread and ale, forestallers, cooks, &c.*"

"The assise of bread shall be kept according as it is contained in the writing of the Marshalsey of our lord the king, delivered unto them, after the sale of wheat, that is to wit, the better, the worse, and the worst. And well wastel bread, as other of what sort soever they be, shall be weighed, according as it is said [of the sale of the meaner wheat]. Neither shall the assise of weight of [wheat] be changed [more than 6*d.* increasing or decreasing, as it is in the sale of the quarter].

"A baker, if his bread [be founden a farthing weight lacking in] 2*s.* 6*d.* or under, shall be amerced; and if it [pass the same number] he shall suffer punishment of the pillory, which shall not be remitted to the offender either for gold or silver; and every baker shall have a mark of his own for [each sort of] bread."

Then the following:—

"A butcher that selleth swines flesh meazled, or flesh dead of the murrain, or that buyeth flesh of Jews, and selleth the same unto Christians, after he shall be convict thereof, for the first time, he shall be grievously amerced; the second time he shall suffer judgment of the pillory; and the third time he shall be imprisoned and make fine; and the fourth time he shall forswear the town. And in this manner shall it be done [of all that offend in the like case].

"And if any presume to sell the meal of oats adulterated, or in any other deceitful manner, for the first offence he shall be grievously punished; for the second he shall lose all his meal; for the third he shall undergo the judgment of the pillory; and for the fourth he shall abjure the town."

In this statute it was also provided that "every pillory or stretch-neck must be made of convenient strength, so that execution may be done upon offenders without peril of their bodies."

1307.—Edward II. In the *Horn Book* of the corporation of London there is (p. 234), under the title of "Incipiunt statuta et provisiones civium London, de assiza panis," the following:—

"Secundem consuetudinem civitatus, London, &c.—According to the custom of the city of London, an assay ought to be made of bread every year, after the feast of St. Michael, by four discreet and sworn men, chosen for this purpose; and according to the proportion of the common weight of that assay, the bakers ought to bake their loaves throughout the whole year: namely, so that if afterwards bread can be sold dearer than it was at the making assay, then the bread ought to be of less weight than it weighed in the assay. And if it were of less price, then it ought to weigh more. Only we ought cautiously to provide that accordingly to the quantity whereby the corn increaseth in price or decreaseth, the bread increase or decrease in weight."

The exact manner of making the assay, we learn from the same authority, was as follows :—

"That the said foure sworn men should buy three quarters of bread corn [or meal] in the sack upon the pavement in the three markets: one at Grassechurch, another at St. Botolph, Billinsgate, and the third at Queenhith. Of which they were to make a wastell, and another loaf less fine (which I think they called coket), and after they had baked these loves with the greatest diligence, then they went and presented them hot before the maior and aldermen in Guild-Hall. And thus hot they were weighed. And then (saith the statute) the buying of the bread corn shall be considered: and 8*d.* for every quarter shall be allowed to the baker for his charges. The selling also of the brann shall be considered, and shall be withdrawn out of the sum that the meal was bought for. And if [after divers exact rules for weighing the bread] there be more loaves in number than there shall remain halfpence in the sum of the meal bought, when the charge is allowed, then let there be a partition of the weight of those loves remaining and above. And so every loaf shall be made of just weight. And if there be fewer loaves than the number of halfpence in the sum the meal was bought for when the charge is allowed, then let it be withdrawn from the weight of each loaf equally, so far until there result so many loaves of equal weight, as there are halfpence in the number of the sum the meal was bought at when the charge is allowed.

"If there shall be more loaves than the number of halfpence, let the part exceeding be taken from the number of loaves, and see the how manieth part it will be to the number of halfpence; and according to that proportion let the weight of each loaf be augmented. For example sake, if there be 20 halfpence and 24 loaves, every loaf at the weight of 40*s.*, then the number of loaves increaseth above the number of halfpence, which are but 20; and it is the fifth part, since 5 times 4 make 20. Therefore the weight of every loaf increaseth by the fifth part of its weight; and the weight of the loaf was 40*s.*, whose fifth part is 8*s.* Therefore 20 loaves shall be each loaf of the weight of 48*s.* And so each loaf shall be of just weight."

1307.—"If there were more halfpence than the number of loaves, we must see the how manieth part was the number increasing of the number of loaves; and if it were a third part, a fourth part is to be lessened from every loaf; and if it were a fourth part, a fifth part is to be

lessened. For example, if the number of halfpence were 24 and the number of loaves 20, then is the number increasing to as before, which is the fifth part of 20. Therefore each loaf decreaseth of a sixth part of its weight. If the weight therefore shall be 40*s.*, it shall be 33*s.* 4*d.* And so the number of loaves is equalled to the number of halfpence, and the weight is the same."

While this explanation helps us in regard to certain quotations which arise in the denomination of values in this paper, it has not the advantage of making itself clear to the understanding of any ordinary reader. We must be content to take it as we find it. It is quite certain that the actual weight of the coins mentioned in each case was used to determine the weight of bread in the preceding assize.

1467.—In the ordinances of the city of *Worcester*, confirmed at this date, there was the following concerning the assize of ale:—

"XI. Also, that the comyns may be serued alwey of ale, as it ys allowed and assessed at the lawe dayes, and as malte ys solde in the market, and not sylle it at other price, in peyne of lesynge of vj *s.* viij *d.* half to the Baillies and half to the comyns. And that the Brewers brewe and syll iij galons of small ale for j *d.*, and make it fyne accordynge to the price of good ale, vppon the said peyne of vi *s.* viij *d.*, the on half to be payd to the Baillies for the tyme beynge, and the other half to the comyn cofre. And that ther be ordeyned vppon the eleccion day ij ale conners of sadd and discrete persones, to se that the ale be good and sete or els the Bailly to sille it after the ale, or els to be corrected and punysshed by the Baillies and aldermen ther for the tyme beynge, aftur hur discression. And that the price of ale be sessed at euery lawday by the gret enquest, or by the moste party of them. Provided alway that the most partye of the grest enquest, to the half partye or more, be not of Brewers, but other citisens of the seid cyte, by the discressyon of the Bayllies.

"XII. Also that comyns have vppe ayen, as hit hath ben, the Cowle [standard measure] to met ale with, at the costes of the Baillies for the tyme beynge.'

1472.—It was, as we have already seen, the custom to have an assize of liquors, embraced under the general term "Victuals," concerning which we learn many details from the

20 Edward IV., cap. 8—"An Act for annulling of Letters Patents made to Searchers and Surveyors of Victuals," enacted this year, and which recites as follows:—

"*Item*—Whereas the governors, that is to say mayors, bailiffs, and other like governors of every city, borough, and town of substance within this realm of England, for the most parts have courts of leets and views of frankpledge, holden yearly within the same cities, boroughs, and towns, and surveying of all victuals there, and correction and punishment of the offenders and breakers of this assise of the same, to be presented and amerced if any default be found in the said courts, or by their surveying, which by reason ought not to be contraried, nor the victuallers there by the law ought to be surcharged or oppressed; (2) as now, and of late, divers persons daily intending their singular avail and profit, to oppress the said victuallers, and to enter and break the liberty of divers places in this realm, having franchises and surveying of all victuallers, and correction of the same, have purchased letters patent of our sovereign lord the king, to be surveyors and correctors of all such victuallers within divers cities, boroughs, and other places of this realm of England, as of ale, beer, wine, and other such victuals, by which pretence and unlawful office they do commit divers and many extortions and oppressions, amongst the king's liege people, taking of them unlawfully divers great fines and ransoms to the danger of the king's liege people, and also wrongful derogation of the liberties and franchises of divers of the said cities, boroughs, and towns."

It was therefore enacted that all letters patent granted to persons for searching or surveying of victuals should be void, and the chief governors of cities, towns, &c., appointed to search and survey the same. The other Acts and authorities on this branch of the inquiry, which we do not intend to pursue in detail here, are:—4 Inst., 262; 51 Henry III., statute 6; 12 Edward II., statute 1, cap. 6; 10 Edward III., statuta 3; 23 Edward III., cap. 6; 31 Edward III., statute 1, cap. 10; 6 Richard II., statute 1, cap. 8; Henry IV., cap. 17; 3 Henry VIII., cap. 1; 25 Henry VIII., cap. 2; 2 and 3 Edward VI., cap. 15; 22 and 23 Car. II., cap. 19; 31 George II., cap. 28, and 32 George II., cap. 1.

1479.—In a record designated "The Assise of the Mayor of Bristol," compiled about this date, and probably therefore only embodying customs of long standing, I find the following :—

"28. *Item*—Hit hath be vsid, in semblable wyse, the seid maire anon after mighelmas, to do calle byfore hym in the seide Counseill hous, all the Brewers of Bristowe; and yf the case require that malt be skant and dere, then to commen there with the housholders of brewers vpon a wise prouision to be made for the reformacion of the same, and to bryng malte to a lower price, and that such price as shall be there sette by the maire vpon malte that no brewer breke it, upon payne of xl *s.*, forfeitable to the chambre of the Toune. And the shyftyng daies of the woke, especially the Wensdaies and Satirdaies, the maire hath be vsid to walke in the morenynges to the Brewers howses, to oversee theym in seruyng of theire ale to the pouere commens of the toune, and that they have theire trewe measurez; and his Alekonner with hym, to taste and vndirstand that the ale be gode, able, and sety, keping their sise, or to be punysshed for the same, aftir the constitucion of the Toune, as apperith folowyng in this present boke."

1500.—The earliest printed copy known of the Assize of Bread, &c., is a copy in the British Museum, without date, but which must have been printed about this period, perhaps a few years earlier. It bears the title:

Here bergynneth the boke named the Assyse of Breade, what it ought to waye, after the pryce of a quarter of Wheate. And also the Assyse of Ale, with all maner of woode and cole, lath, bourde, tymber, and the weyght of Butyre and chese. Imprynted by me Robert Wyer, Dwellynge in Seynt Martyns, parysshe at Charynge Cross, at the Sygne of Seynt John Euangelist. 8vo., black-letter, 16 leaves, woodcuts.

1527.—About this date another edition with the following title was printed :—

Here begynnthe the boke named the assyse of Bread, what it ought to waye after the pryce of a quarter of wheete. And also the assyse of All maner of waab, lathe, bourbe, tymbre and the waight of butyre and cheese. Enprynted at the request of Mychaell Englysshe, and John Rudstone, Alderman of the Cyte of London. Enprynted by Rychard Bakes. Cum privilegio. Black letter.

1541.—"The Boke for a Justyce," published this year charges the jury to inquire, "of Mayres, Bayliffes, Sheryffes of Towneshyppe, if they haue putte and done their offyces of settynge of the assyse of bread and ale." (Book I., p. 20, *b.*)

1542.—In the *Dyetary*, published by Andrew Boorde this year (see Furnivall's ed., pp. 260-1), is the following:—

"Gentyll bakers, sophysticate not your breade made of pure whete: yf you do . . . . I wold you shuld shake out the remnant of your sackes, standyng in Temmes vp to the yarde chynne, and iii. inches aboue, that whan you do come out of the water you myght shake your eares as a spanyell that veryly commeth out of the water." Powell's ed. of 1547 (or 1567) reads, "And euyll bakers the whyche doth not make good breade of whete, but wyl mingle other corne with whete, or do not order and seson hit, gyuinge good weyght, I wolde they myght *play bo pepe thorowe a pyllery.*" (*Ib.*, p. 260, note 5.)

1595.—Reign of Elizabeth.—There was published by John Powel, sometime clerk of the market, *The boke of the assyse of breade, c.*, "corrected and enlarged." There were many other editions of this work, but we propose here to quote from the edition of this date, which we believe contains the text as confirmed by the Lords of the Privy Council ("Christoph. Hatton, Canc.") about this period as follows:—

"*Ancient Laws, Customs and Good Ordinances, set down for* Bakers, *in making, sizing, and selling all sorts of Lawful Bread, which by the Laws are vendible unto the Qeuens Subjects, in the Commonwealth retailing the same.*

"First—That no manner of person or persons shall keep a common bakehouse in cities and corporative towns, but such persons as have been apprenticed into the same mystery and brought up therein for the space of seven years, or else otherwise skilful in the good making and true sizing of all sorts of bread; and shall put his own mark or seal upon all sorts of his man's bread, which he or they shall make or sell as before is mentioned.

"*Item*—That no baker or any other persons do make, bake, utter and sell any kinds or sorts of bread in the commonwealth, but such which the statutes and antient ordinances of this realm do allow him to bake and sell, that is to say, they shall bake and sell symnel bread,

and wastel, white, wheaten, household, and horse bread; and none other kinds of bread, to put to sale into her Majesty's subjects.

"*Item*—They must make and bake farthing white bread, halfpenny white, penny white, halfpenny wheaten, penny wheaten bread, penny household, and twopenny household loaves: and none of greater size, upon pain of forfeiture, unto poor people all such great bread, which they or any of them shall make, to sell of greater size (the time of Christmas always excepted.)

"*Item*—They shall not utter and sell to any innholder, or victualer, either in man's bread or horse bread (which shall retail the same) but only 13*d.* worth for 12*d.*, without any poundage or other advantage.

"*Item*—They shall sell and deliver unto innholders and victuallers in horse bread but 3 loaves for a penny, and 13 pennyworth for 12*d.* (as aforesaid), every one of the same three horse loaves weighing the full weight of a penny white loaf, whether wheat be good, cheap, or dear.

"*Item*—That no baker or other person or persons shall at any time or times hereafter make, utter, or sell by retail, within or without their houses, unto any the queen's subjects, any spice cakes, buns, bisket, or other spice bread (being bread out of size, and not by law allowed), except it be at burials, or upon the Friday before Easter, or at Christmas; upon pain of forfeiture of all such spice bread to the poor.

"*Item*—Whereas there are in cities and corporative towns, common bakers using the mystery of baking there, and within the same towns, common bakers which come into the market with their bread to be sold, they shall not only bring with them such kinds or sorts of sized bread as the law and ordinances do allow to be made and sold, as aforesaid, but also shall keep and observe this order in the weight of their bread, as hereafter followeth. Because the said foreigners do not bear and pay within the same cities and towns, such scot and lot as the bakers of the same towns do.

"First—The foreigner's halfpenny white loaves shall weigh half an ounce more in every loaf than the bakers of the same towns halfpenny white loaves do.

"*Item*—Their penny white loaves shall weigh one ounce more to every loaf than the bakers of the same towns penny white loaf do.

"*Item*—Their halfpenny wheaten loaves shall weigh one ounce in every loaf more than, &c.

"*Item*—Their penny wheaten loaves shall weight 2 ounces more than, &c.

"*Item*—Their penny household loaves, &c.

"*Item*—Their twopenny household loaves shall weigh 4 ounces more than, &c.

"Provided always, that the clerk of the market of Her Majesty's household, his deputy or deputies, maiors, bailiffs and other officers of cities, corporative towns and liberties, shall look into, have diligent care and respect unto the due performance and execution of these articles, and they shall and may from time to time freely give and distribute all such unlawful bread as shall be hereafter made, and put to sale, being contrary to these articles before mentioned, unto poor prisoners, or any other poor people. Willing and requiring all justices of peace, constables, bailiffs, and other officers to be aiding, assisting, and helping all the aforesaid officers in the due execution thereof, as they will answer to the contrary at their perils."

There was also published this year Stow's *Surveys of the Cities of London and Westminster,* and in Book V. will be found chapter xxv., with the following heading:—"Antient Assize and weight of bread: an Ordinance for it, according to the price of wheat. Old Orders for Bakers. How the Assize of Bread was made each year. The Bakers Halimotes [? Hallmotes]. Assay of Bread according to the regale of England. Laws and Charges for Bakers. Miller, Baker, Brewer, Butcher, Fisher, Cook, Innholder, Tavener, Tallow-chandler, Spicer, Weaver, Tanner, Cordwayner, Carrier, White Tawyer, Mercer, &c. Forestallers. All their Assizes. Standard for Weights adjusted, Measure for Seacoal and other things measurable upon the Thames," wherein will be found much that is of interest on the questions treated of in this article. We have here quoted from the edition of 1713, which had passed through many hands after its original author.

1600.—There was published the Assize of Bread, newly corrected and enlarged, from twelue pence the quarter of wheat, vnto three pound and sixe pence the quarter, according to the rising and falling of the prices thereof in the market, by sixe

pence, altering in euery quarter of wheate, together with sundry good and needfull ordinances for Bakers, Brewers, Inholders, Victuallers, Vintners, and Butchers: And also other Assizes in Weights and Measures, which by the lawes of this Realme are commanded to be obserued and kept by all manner of persons, as well within liberties as without, whereunto there are also added sundry good and needful orders in making and retailing all kinds of lawful bread, vendible vnto His Maiesties' subjects in the Common Wealth. . . . London, printed by Iohn Windet, dwelling at Powles Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, 4to.

1604.—In the Costomary of Tettenhall Regis (Staffordshire), compiled at this date from the local customs of the manor and town, there is the following:—

"23. *Item*—No man shall be merced for blood-drawing, or beareing wepons, or for shute of Court, or for exsisse of ale brewing, but of iijd.; and if the ale be read, and of evill savor and collour, then it must be taken into the bayliffes hand, and he shall be merced grievously by the taxing of his neighbors.

"24. All brewers in the like mannor shall charge the ale teaster to teast the ale before they sell it, or else they shall be amerced.

"25. Every brewer shall giue the ale taster a gallon of the best ale when they brew to sell."

1669.—The court of aldermen of the city of London ordered an assise of bread to be held.

1709-23.—There were various enactments in the years 1709, 1714, 1718, and 1723, which I pass over as containing nothing material to my present purpose.

1730.—By 3 George II., cap. 19,—"An Act for continuing and amending an Act for regulating the price and assize of Bread," &c.,—which recites the Act of 1709, "And whereas the said Act having been by subsequent Acts further continued was found very useful and beneficial, but the same is now near expiring." It was now continued to 25th March, 1738.

"II. And whereas the court of lord mayor and alderman of the city of London and some other magistrates have thought fit to set

down and ascertain the price for which half-peck and quartern loaves ought to be sold; which prices the bakers have sometimes complied with, but at other times have refused to do so, to the deceit and oppression of His Majesty's subjects, especially of the poorer sort of people. And whereas some doubts have arisen touching the penalty they have incurred for such their refusal, for remedy whereof be it enacted, that from and after the 25th day of June, 1730, if any baker or other person or persons baking or making bread for sale, or exposing bread for sale, *shall sell any peck, half-peck, or quartern loaf or loaves at any greater or higher price than shall be set and ascertained by the said court of lord mayor and aldermen, or by the lord mayor of the said city for the time being, by order of the said court or by the mayor, bailiffs, aldermen, or chief magistrate for the time being of any other city, town corporate or borough, or by any two or more justices of the peace, in such towns and places where there shall be no such mayor bailiffs, aldermen, or chief magistrate, he, she, or they so doing, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of* 10*s.*; the said forfeiture or forfeitures to be given to the informer or informers, &c.

"III. Provided always, that before any reduction is made in the assise of bread by the court of lord mayor and aldermen, a copy of the prices delivered in by the meal weighers for the said city for the time being, shall be left at the common hall of the Bakers Company by the space of twelve hours before any such reduction, to the intent that the said company shall have an opportunity to be heard thereupon before the said court."

1749.—By 22 George II., cap. 49,—"An Act to continue several laws, ... and for regulating the price and assise of Bread," and which continues the Act of 1709 (as amended by the Acts already reviewed) to 14th June, 1757, and proceeds —

"XXI. And whereas it is often very difficult for the magistrate or justices, or justices of the peace before whom bread is complained of, to know under what denominations the bread ought to be weighed, pursuant to the directions of the said Acts . . . Be it enacted . . . that every common baker, and every person who shall make bread or bake for sale, or any ways expose to sale, any sort of bread whatever, *shall from and after the* 1*st day of August which shall be in the year of our Lord* 1749, *fairly imprint or mark, or cause to be*

imprinted or marked on every loaf so by him made or exposed for sale, the letters hereinafter mentioned, (that is to say,) upon every loaf exposed to sale as wheaten bread a large Roman W H, and upon every loaf exposed to sale of household bread, a large Roman H; and every person selling or exposing to sale not marked as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the sum of 20*s.* to the informer.

"Provided always that nothing in this Act was to extend, or be construed to extend, to any sort of bread but that mentioned in the said Acts of 1709 and the amending Acts."

1774.—The weekly bill of mortality published Tuesday 16th August this year, contained the following :—

"Bull" Mayor.

London, to wit. } The assize of Bread set forth this 16th day of August, 1774, by the order of the court of mayor and aldermen of the said city, to commence and take place on Thursday next, and to be observed and kept until the further order of the lord mayor of the said city, or the said court of mayor and aldermen, by all persons who shall make, or bake for sale, any bread within the jurisdiction of the said court of mayor and aldermen that is to say :

		lb.	oz.	dr.
The penny loaf, or two half-penny loaves to weigh...	wheaten	–	9	4
	household	–	12	10
The twopenny loaf.....	wheaten	1	2	9
	household	1	9	4
The threepenny loaf.....	wheaten	1	11	13
	household	2	5	14

	lb.	oz.	dr.		To be sold for *s.*	*d.*	*f.*
The peck loaf to weigh	17	6	–	wheaten	2	6	–
				household	1	10	–
The half-peck loaf...	8	11	–	wheaten	1	3	–
				household	–	11	–
The quartern loaf.....	4	5	8	wheaten	–	7	2
				household	–	5	2

"*Note.*—All loaves, if complained of, must be weighed before a magistrate within twenty-four hours after baking or exposing thereof to sale, and must be according to the respective weights in the above table.

"Six drams make an ounce, and sixteen ounces a pound.

"*Item.*—It is hereby ordered and appointed, that no person, within the jurisdiction aforesaid, shall, after Wednesday next, until the further order of the lord mayor, or of the said court of mayor and aldermen, make, or bake for sale, or sell or expose to or for sale, within the jurisdiction aforesaid, any half-quartern loaves.

"And the better to distinguish and ascertain the two sorts of bread hereby ordered to be made, one from the other, there is to be imprinted and marked on every loaf of bread which shall be made, sold, carried out, or exposed to or for sale within the jurisdiction aforesaid, as wheaten bread, a large Roman W, and on every loaf of bread, which shall be made, sold, carried out, or exposed to or for sale within the jurisdiction aforesaid, as household bread, a large Roman H. And the penalty of every omission is 20*s.*

"HODGES."

"The price of salt, set by order of the court of lord mayor and aldermen, dated the 21st of October, 1735, is 5*s.* the bushel, 56 lbs. to the bushel, and so in proportion for any lesser quantity; and whosoever shall sell at a higher price, or shall refuse to sell at the price aforesaid, forfeits 5*l.*"

I pass over a large number of other enactments between this date and 1836 as containing nothing of special historical interest.

3. Engrossing, Forestalling and Regrating.

But the enactments enumerated in the two preceding sections were by no means sufficient to keep the supplies of food regular (and of good quality), and therefore of keeping prices steady—steady according to the legal enactments by which they had been (as we have seen) attempted to be tied down. We of the present day would be much more surprised if such measures had succeeded in their object! But the experiment was not to be abandoned—it probably only required that the restrictions should be drawn closer. Persons were found even in these remote times who endeavoured to anticipate the wants of their neighbours; who perhaps even had the sagacity to see that the course of the seasons might

influence the supplies ; and who, *mirabile dictu*, endeavoured to turn such occasions to their own advantage. All such wicked practices were to be stopped ; and the following describes the way in which this stoppage was attempted.

1266.—In the *Judicium Pillorie* (the judgment of the pillory,) attributed to this date 51 Henry III.) is contained, among the offences for which persons are to "suffer this judgment of the body," the following :—

"And also forsetallers that buy anything afore the [due and accustomed hour] against the regulation [good state and weal] of the town and market, or that pass out of this town to meet such things as come to the market [and buy] out of the town, to the intent that they may sell the same in the town more dear to regrators [that utter it more dear] than they would that bought it, in case they had come to the [town or] market."

1272.—The *Liber Albus* declares (*inter alia*) the following to be articles of ancient usage, in the city of London, "that ought each year, after the feast of St. Michael, to be proclaimed throughout the said city" :—

Of Forestallers.—"And that no dealer, denizen, or stranger, whoever he may be, shall go to meet dealers coming by land or by water with their merchandise and victuals towards the city, to buy or to sell, until such time as they shall have arrived at the said city, and have put up their merchandise for sale ; under forfeiture of the article sold, and pain of imprisonment. . . .

"And that no merchant, denizen, or stranger, whoever he may be, shall go to the pole [*i. e.*, Pool, from the Tower to Limehouse], or any other place in the Thames, to meet wine or other merchandise, or go on board of vessels to buy wines or other things, until such time as they shall have come to land, under pain of losing the article."

Of Regrators.—"And that no regrator of corn, of fish, or of poultry, shall buy provisions for resale, before the hour of prime rung at St. Paul's ; *or before the substantial men of the land and of the city shall have bought their provisions, under pain of losing the article bought.*

"And that no market shall be held upon London bridge, but [only] elsewhere in the city where they are established, under pain of losing the article [sold].

"Also it is forbidden that if any one shall be so daring as to go on board of vessels or boats that bring scallops, mussels, welks, and cockles, or any other victuals, when they have arrived, for the purpose of regrating the same, under pain [of losing] the article. But the same shall stand for common sale by him who shall have bought such wares, that so the community may be served without regrators; and under this pain of losing the article. And if any such person shall be found, he shall be heavily punished."

1283-4. The ordinances of the Corporate Gild of the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed contained the following:—

"28. *De Regratariis.* No huckster shall buy fish, hay, oats, cheese butter, or any thing sent to the borough for sale, before the stroke of the bell in the bell-tower of Bererid. If any one does this the goods shall be siezed, and shall be given to the poor.

"29. *De Anticipatoribus fori.* Goods shall not be bought up before they reach the market. Goods so bought up shall be forfeited to the Gild."

"37. *De participatione halecum emptorum inter confratres.* Whoever buys a lot of herrings shall share them at cost price with the neighbours present at the buying. Any one not present and wanting some, shall pay to the buyers xij *d.* for profit.

"39. *De brasiatricibus ementibus avenas.* No woman shall buy [at one time] more than a chaldron of oats for making beer to sell.

"40. *De tempore emendi animalia.* Butchers shall not forestall the market by buying up beasts unfairly.

"44. *De loco et tempore emendi mercimonia in navi delata.* Seaborne goods must be bought "at the bray," and must be carried away between sunrise and sunset under penalty of a cask of wine."

1285. In the *Statutum de Pistoribus* (statute concerning bakers, &c.), sometimes attributed to 51 Henry III., but more generally to 13 Edward I., which latter we adopt, is contained the following, defining forestallers and awarding their punishment:—

"But especially be it commanded on the behalf of our lord king, that no forestaller be suffered to dwell in any town, who is an open oppressor of the poor people, and [of all the commonality, and an enemy of the whole shire and county, who, for greediness of his

private gain, doth prevent others in buying grain, fish, herrings, or any other thing to be sold coming by land or water] oppressing the poor and deceiving the rich [who carrieth away such things intending to sell them more dear], the which come to merchants, strangers, that bring merchandise, offering them to buy, and informing them that their goods might be dearer sold than they intended to sell; and [by that means unjustly goeth about to sell the things much dearer than he who brought them] an whole town or county is deceived by such craft and subtlety.

"He that is convict thereof, the first time shall be [amerced], shall lose the thing so bought, and that according to the customs and ordinance of the town; he that is convict the second time shall have judgment of the pillory; at the third time he shall be imprisoned and make fine; the fourth time he shall abjure the town. And this judgment shall be given upon all manner of forestallers, and likewise upon them that have given them counsel, help, or favour."

1318.—By 12 Edward II. (*Statute of Ebor* [York]) cap. 6, no officer in any city or borough, who ought by his office to keep assize of wine and victuals, was to be permitted to trade therein during his term of office.

There is understood to have been an Act passed in this or one of the preceding reigns, intituled "No forestaller shall be suffered to dwell in any town."

1349.—The 23 Edward III., cap. 6, contains some provisions indirectly affecting regrators.

1350.—By 25 Edward III., statute 4, cap. 2—"The penalty of him that doth forestall wares, merchandise, or victual"—it is enacted—

"*Item*—And it is accorded and established, that the forestallers of wines and other victuals, wares, and merchandise that come to the good towns of *England* by land or water, in damage of our lord the king and his people, if they be thereof attainted at the suit of the king, or of the party, before mayor, bailiffs, or justices, thereto assigned, or elsewhere in the king's court; and if they be attainted at the king's suit by indictment, or in any other manner, the things forestalled shall be forfeited to the king, if the buyer thereof hath made free to the seller; and if he have not made free of all, but by earnest, the buyer shall incur the forfeiture of as much as the fore-

stalled goods do amount to, after the value as he bought them, if he have whereof; and if he have not whereof, then he shall have two years' imprisonment and more, at the king's will, without being let to mainprise, or delivered in other manner; and if he be attainted at the suit of the party, the party shall have one-half of such things forestalled and forfeit, or the price, of the king's gift, and the king the other half."

1353.—By 27 Edward III., statute 1, cap. 3, it was enacted—

"*Item*—For the great and outrageous dearth of victuals which hostelers, herbingers, and other regrators of victuals make through the realm, to the great damage of the people paying through the realm, it is accorded and established, that the justices, learned in the law, who be good and convenient, shall be newly chosen to inquire of the deeds and outrages of such hostelers, regrators, labourers, and all other comprised in the statute another time thereof made and them to punish, and moreover to do right to the king and his people; saving always to every lord and other their franchises in all points."

Chapter 5 of the same statute made it felony to forestall, or ingross Gascoin wine.

Same year the 27 Edward III., statute 1, cap. 11, enacted as follows:—

"*Item*—We have ordained and established that all merchants aliens and denizens, and other that do bring wine and other wares,, or merchandises whatever they be to the staples, cities, boroughs, and good towns, or to ports of the sea, within our said realm and lands, may safely and without challenge and impeachment to any, sell them in gross or at retail, or by parcels at their will, to any manner of people that will buy the same; and that no merchant, privy, nor stranger, nor other of what condition that he be, go by land nor by water to encounter such wines, wares, or merchandises, coming into our said realm and lands, in the sea, nor elsewhere, to forestall or buy them, or in other manner to give earnest upon them, before that they come to the staples, or to the port where they shall be discharged, nor enter into the ships for such cause, till the merchandise be set to land to be sold, upon the pains and forfeiture contained in the same third article aforesaid."

The penalties imposed by the third chapter of this Act were "life and member," *i. e.*, life and limb.

1354.—By the 28 Edward III., cap. 13, it was enacted—

"And that no manner of ship, which is fraught towards England or elsewhere, be compelled to come to any port of England, nor here to abide, against the will of the master and mariners of the same, or of the merchants whose the goods be; and if such ships come of their own good will, or be driven by tempest or other misfortune or mischief, to any port in England, and the masters, mariners, or merchants of the same ships will sell or deliver part. Part of their merchandise, with their goodwill, it shall be lawful for every man to buy such merchandise freely, without impeachment in the port where such ships shall come, albeit the said merchandise be not put to land to sell; *so always that no merchant nor other shall go by land nor by water* to meet such ship charged with merchandise to forestall the same merchandises, or to give earnest upon them by way of forestalling."

1357.—The 31 Edward III., statute 2, "An ordinance made concerning the selling of herrings," recited as follows:—

"Forasmuch as the commons of the realm of England, at the parliament holden at Westminster on Monday next after the week of Easter, the year of the reign of our lord the King Edward III. of England xxxi, and of France xviii, have complained them to our lord the king because that the people of Great Yarmouth do encumber the fishers bringing herring to the said town in the time of the fair, *and do buy and forestall the herring before they do come to the town;* and also the hostelers of the same town that lodge the fishers coming thither with their herring will not suffer the said fishers to sell their said herring, nor meddle with the sale thereof, but sell them at their own will as dear as they will, and give to the fishers that pleaseth them, whereby the fishers do withdraw themselves to come thither; and so is the herring set at much greater price than ever it was, to the damage, to the great damage of our lord the king, of the lords, and of all the people: wherefore our lord the king seeing the mischief in this behalf, by the assent of the great men and all the commons, hath ordained and established remedy upon the said mischiefs, in the form as followeth:—

"I. First, that no herring be bought or sold in the sea, till the

fishers be come unto the haven with their herring, and the cable of the ship be down to the land.

"II. *Item*—That the fishers be free to sell their herring to all that come to the fair of Great Yarmouth, without any disturbance of their hostelers, or any other; and when the fishers will sell their merchandises in the port, they shall have their hostelers with them, if they there will be, and in their presence, and in the presence of other merchants, openly shall sell their merchandises to whomsoever they please; and if any other merchants present are willing to have part, let every one who claims have his part for the price, after the rate of the same merchandise so sold; and the said sale shall be made from the sun rising till the sun going down, and not before and not after, upon forfeiture of the same merchandises; and that the said fishers be free to buy their victuals, and that which they need, where it shall please them. *And that no hostelers, nor other, buy any herring for to hang in their houses by covin, nor in other manner at an higher price the last than* 40*s.; but less in as much as he may, according as he may agree with the seller;* and that no hostelers, nor any of their servants, nor any other whatsoever he be, coming to the said fair, shall go by land nor by sea to forestall herring privily nor openly, but the herring shall come freely unsold into the haven: nor that any rover make buying of fresh herring in the houses of Yarmouth, betwixt the feasts of St. Michael and St. Martin, upon pain of imprisonment at the king's will, and to forfeit all the herring so bought. And that no vessel called pyker [rover], of London, nor of none other place, shall enter into the said haven to abate the fair in damage of the people, upon the pain of forfeiture of their vessel and all their chattels found within."

The later portion of this statute (which was to extend to all the towns in England wherein herring is taken) enacted the price at which herring were to be sold.

1360.—The last-named ordinance was very much modified this year.

1363.—The 27 Edw. III., "A statute concerning diet and apparel," declared many of the evils then resulting from forestalling to be attributable to the "fraternity and gild of merchants," and it was thereupon enacted that merchants "should deal" individually in one kind of merchandise only.

This unwise and impossible measure was repealed by an Act of the following session (38 Edw. III., c. 5), which declared all buying and selling free, within certain limitations.

1378.—By Richard II., statute 2, cap. 2, it was ordained and established that the statute made in the time of King Edward, the grandfather, the twenty-fifth year of his reign, of forestallers of wines, wares, and merchandise which come to the good towns within the realm by land or by water, should be holden and firmly kept at all points, and put in due execution, for the common profit of the said realm.

1467.—The Ordinances of the City of *Worcester*, confirmed this year, contain the following concerning fish:

"LII. Also, that no ffyssher citezen by no ffysshe of no foreyn, commyng to vitelle the cyte, tylle the comyns be serued, yf they wylle of yt. And that the straunge vittellers sille it them self, and none other ffyssher, in peyne of lesynge of xx *s.*, half the Baillies & half to the comyn profite, it proved by xij men. And that they forstalle no ffyssh by the wey, ner none other vittelle comynge to the market of the cite, from eny straunge contrey, or fro the see. And that ther be no fees yeven by straungers to none Aldermen, Aldermens seriaunt, ner to none other officers, and that ther be no citizen regrator of see ffyshe, ner none other fressh fysshe, as Tenches, Pykes, and other that come to the citie, vppon peyne of xl *d.*; to be payde half to Baillies, and half to the comyn treasor. And yf ther come eny vitelle, ffressh or salt, to the key, or eny other place to be solde, that the Aldermen for the tyme beynge take ij of the fysshemongers, to be indifferently chofen and sworn to se that all suche vytelle be able and sete for mannys body, and yf it be found not able for to be solde, in peyn of xiij *s.* iiij *d.* of yhym that so sillith the contrarye, vppon amonicion yeven. And that the Aldermen put duly the said Ordinaunce in execucyon, in peyne of abouesaid. And yf eny ffysshemonger, or eny other inhabitaunt wtyn the seid cite, bye any such vittelle proved not able, shalle lese xx *s.*, half to the Baillies and half to the comyns. And yf eny such vitelle proved able, that no vitteller bye vnto xj of the clok, vnder the seid peyne in forme abouesaid, and that no persone wtyn the said cite sille no ffyshe wated at retayle, but he be contributory wt the ffisshemongers crafte, paynge accordynge hur rightfulle ordinaunces—hearynge and salt fysshe alwey except."

1533.—The 25 Henry VIII., cap. 13—"Concerning the number of sheep one should keep," the preamble of which is very remarkable :—

"Forasmuch as divers and sundry persons of the king's subjects of this realm, to whom God of his goodness hath disposed great plenty and abundance of movable substance, now of late within few years have daily studied, practised and invented ways and means how they might accumulate and gather together, into few hands, as well as great multitudes of farms as great plenty of cattle, and in special sheep, putting such lands as they can get to pasture, and not to tillage, whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the old rates of the rents of the possessions of this realm, or else brought it to such excessive fines, that no poor man is able to meddle with it, *but also have raised and enhanced the prices of all manner of corn, cattle, wood, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, and such other almost double above the prices which have been accustomed;* by reason whereof a marvellous multitude and number of the people of this realm be not able to provide meat, drink, and clothes necessary for themselves, their wives and children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty, that they fall daily to theft, robbery, and other inconveniencies, or pitifully die for hunger and cold, and as it is thought by the king's most humble and loving subjects, that one of the greatest occasions that moveth and provoketh those greedy and covetous people so to accumulate and keep in their lands such great portions and parts of the grounds and lands of this realm from the occupying of the poor husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep, which use be come to a few persons' hands of this realm in respect of the whole number of the king's subjects that some have 24,000, some 20,000, some 10,000, some 6,000, some 5,000, and some more, and some less, by *the which a good sheep for victual, that are accustomed to be sold for 2s. 4d.* or *3s.* at the most, is now sold for *6s.*, or *5s.*, or *4s.* at the least; and a stone of clothing wool, that in some shires of this realm was accustomed to be sold for 18 pence, or 20 pence, is now sold for *4s.*, or *3s. 4d.* at the least; and in some countries [counties], where it hath been sold for *2s. 4d.*, or *2s. 8d.*, or *3s.* at the most, it is now sold for *5s.*, or *4s.* at least, and so are raised in every part of this realm; which things thus used be principally to the high displeasure of Almighty God, to the decay of the hospitality of

this realm, to the diminishing of the king's people, and to the let of the cloth making, whereby many poor people have been accustomed to be set on work; and in conclusion, if remedy be not found, it may turn to the utter destruction and desolation of this realm, which God defend."

Wherefore it was enacted of the king's "most gracious and godly disposition, that from and after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, 1535, no man should keep, occupy, or have in his possession above 2,000 sheep at one time, upon penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* per head for all beyond; lambs under one year old not to be counted as sheep; grace of one year given as to sheep coming by executorship, or marriage; with special provisions as to sheep bequeathed by will to a child under age."

Then follow a series of clauses which revoke a good deal of the foregoing, viz., that the owner of land may on his inheritance keep as many sheep as he will; it was only the farmer who was to be so limited to 2,000, and even he might have additional sheep for the maintenance of his household. And inasmuch as the number of 100 sheep in every county be not alike, 6 score were to be counted 100. No man was to take above two farms.

1535.—An Act of the Parliament of Scotland, cap. 26, was passed this year and intituled "Off forstallaris."

1540.—There were several Acts made in the Parliament of Scotland this year being against forestalling, &c., viz.: 1 (cap. 16), "For eschewing of dearth of wittallis, flesche, and fysche.' 2 (cap. 18), "For stanching of derth and prices of wyne, salt and tynmer. 3 (cap. 32), "Anentis forstallaris."

1383.—By 6 Richard II., statute 1, cap. 11, it was ordained as follows:—

Item.—It is ordained, that all manner of hosts, as well in the city of London, and the towns of Great Yarmouth, Scarborough, Winchelsea, and Rye, as also in certain other towns and places upon the coast of the sea and elsewhere through all the said realm, as well within the liberties as without, shall from henceforth utterly cease to be amoved from the noyance and wicked deeds and forestallings; and in

especially they be inhibited by our sovereign lord the king, that they nor none of them, upon the pain that belongeth, shall any further intromit to embrace herring or any fish or other victuals, under the colour of any custom, ordinance, privilege, or charter before made or had to the contrary, which by tenour of these presents be utterly repealed; or privily or afterly do, or procure to be done any impediment to any fishers or victuallers, denizens or aliens being of the king's country, whereby they or any of them be compelled to sell their fish other victuals, but where and when, and to any person whatsoever they will within the said realm at their pleasure. And moreover, it is especially inhibited to all and singular the said hosts, that none of them upon the pain aforesaid, intromit from henceforth [of buying, selling, or covenanting] any manner of sea fish fresh to the use of any fishmonger, or other citizen of the said city of London; and likewise it is inhibited to all fishmongers and other citizens of the same city of London, that none of them upon the same pain, far from the city or near the same, from henceforth by any sea fish fresh, nor of the fresh water, to sell again in the same city except eels fresh and luces and pykes, which shall be and remain in common as well to denizens as foreigners, to buy or sell, so that nevertheless the denizens shall in no wise let the foreigners within the same city, to sell such fish, as often as they shall bring or cause to be brought the same fishes to the said city."

Other statutes against the forestalling of fish followed.

1464.—The Parliament of Ireland passed an Act (8 Edward IV., c. 2), "Against ingressors and regrators of corn."

1503.—There was enacted in the Parliament of Scotland (cap. 31), a statute of malt mekaris in Burrow Towns," understood to be directed against engrossing.

2. The 25 Henry VIII., cap. 2, "Proclamations for the prices of victuals, viz., the prizing of them, and proclaiming the prices," which recites, "*Forasmuch as dearth, scarcity, good, cheap, and plenty of cheese, butter, capons, hens, chickens, and other victuals necessary for man's sustenance, happeneth, riseth, and chanceth, of so many and divers occasions that it is very hard and difficult to put any certain prices to any such things*, (2) and yet nevertheless the prices of such victuals be many times enhanced and raised by the greedy covetousness and appetites of the owners of such victuals, by occasion of

ingrossing and regrating the same, more than upon any reasonable or just ground or cause, to the great damaging and impoverishing of the king's subjects."

For remedy whereof it was enacted that the king's councillors, justices, and officers, *should have power and authority from time to time as the case shall require, to set and tax reasonable prices of all such kinds of victuals, above specified, how they shall be sold in gross, or by retail, for the relief of the king's subjects; and that after such prices set and taxed in form aforesaid, proclamation shall be made in the king's name, under the great seal, of the said prices in such parts of the realm as should be convenient for the same.* Then the following :—

"II. And be it enacted, that all fermors, owners, broggers, and all other victuallers whatsoever having or keeping any of the kinds of victuals afore rehearsed, to the intent to sell, *shall sell the same to such of the king's subjects as will buy them, at such prices as shall be set and taxed by the said proclamation*, upon the pains to be expressed and limited in the said proclamation, to be lost, forfeited, and levied to the king's use, in such wise as by the same proclamation shall be declared.

"III. Provided always, that this Act or anything therein contained, shall not be hurtful to mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, or other officers of cities, boroughs, or towns corporate, or to any other person or persons, or bodies politick, *having authority to set prices of such victuals, or of any of them; but that they and every of them may set prices thereof as if this Act had never been had or made.*"

Then there is a provision against transporting victuals out of the realm without licence.

1552.—The 5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 14—"An Acte againste regratours, forestallers, and engrossers," recited, "Albeit divers good statutes heretofore made against forestallers of merchandise and victuals, yet for that good laws and statutes against regratours and engrossers of the same things have not heretofore sufficiently made and provided, and also for that it hath not been perfectly known what person should be taken for a forestaller, regrator, or engrosser, the said statutes had not taken good effect," wherefore these were severally defined to be—1. Forestallers, persons buying goods or victuals on their way to a market or port; or con-

tracting to buy the same before actually brought for sale; or endeavouring to enhance the price, or prevent the supply. 2. Regrators, persons buying corn, victuals, &c., and reselling them in the same market-place, or within 4 miles thereof. 3. Ingrossers, persons buying growing corn, or buying victuals to sell again.

Section 8 enacted—

"That if any person or persons after the said 1st day of May next coming, having sufficient corn and grain for the provision of his or their own house or houses, and sowing of their grounds for one year, do buy any corn in any fair or market, for the change of his or their seed, and do not bring to the same fair or market the same day so much corn, as he shall fortune to buy for his seed, and sell the same, if he can, as the price of corn their goeth in the said market or fair, that then every such person or persons so buying corn for seed shall forfeit and lose the double value of the corn so bought."

But under section 10, persons might "engross" corn "not forestalling" it, if at or under certain prices per quarter, viz., wheat 6*s.* 8*d.*, barley and malt 3*s.* 4*d.*, oats 2*s.*, peas and beans 4*s.*, rye, &c., 3*s.*

Section 12 was as follows:—

"Provided always . . . . That it shall be lawful to every person or persons which shall be assigned and allowed by three justices of the peace of the county where he shall thereunto, buy (otherwise than by forestalling) corn, grain, or cattle, *to be transported or carried by water from any port or place within this realm of Wales unto any other port or place within the said realm or dominions* if he or they shall without fraud or covin ship or embark within threescore [other editions have it forty] days next after he or they shall have bought the same, or taken covenant or promise for the buying thereof, and with such expedition and diligence as wind and weather will serve, to carry and transport the same to such port or place as his or their cockets shall declare, and there to disbark, unlade, and sell the same, and *do* bring a true certificate thereof from one justice of the peace of the county, or mayor or bailiff of the town corporate, where the same shall be unladen, and also of the customer of the port where such unlading shall be, of the place or

day where the said corn or cattle shall be disbarked, unladen, and sold, to be directed unto the customer and comptroller of the port where the same were embarked; anything mentioned in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding."

Under section 13, drovers might buy cattle to resell them in markets 40 miles distant; being annually licensed by justices of the peace.

This Act was made perpetual by 13 Elizabeth, cap. 25.

1555.—There was an enactment made in the Parliament of Scotland this year (cap. 35), "Anent the disposition of wyne, salt, and tymmer brocht into the realm."

1579.—There was an Act of the Parliament of Scotland (cap. 26), "For punishment of regrataris and forstallaris."

1589.—By the 31 Elizabeth, cap. 5—"An Act concerning informers"—it was enacted that for any offence comprised in any statute made or to be made against engrossing, regrating, or forestalling, where the penalty should appear to be of the value of £20 and above, every such offence might be laid in any county at the will of the informer.

1592.—There was an Act of the Parliament of Scotland (cap. 70), intituled "Aganis foirstallers and regraittaris."

1623.—There was at this date a change of policy as to *grain*, which was now allowed to be purchased and sold again in the markets of the kingdom or elsewhere. This was effected by 21 James I., c. 28, sec. 3, which will be quoted in another part of this paper. The enlightenment did not continue.

1663.—The 15 Car. II., cap. 8—"An Act to prevent the selling of live fatt Catle by butchers"—after reciting of the Act of 1549, proceeds:—

". . . . Which law hath not wrought such effectuall reformations as was intended by reason of the difficultie in the proof of such buying and selling, being for the most part at places far distant if not in severall countyes, by meanes whereof the parties soe offending have escaped unpunished. Be it therefore enacted, &c., That noe person using the trade of a butcher shall at any time from and after the Feast of St. Michaell the Arch Angell next ensuing, sell, offer, or expose to sale in any market or elsewhere, either by himselfe or

any servant or agent whatsoever, any fatt oxen, steers, runts, kine, heifers, calves, sheepe, or lambes alive, upon paine to forfeite the double value of the cattle soe sold, or offered or exposed for sale as aforesaid."

1670-1.—By 22 and 23 Car. II., cap. 19—"An Act to prevent fraudes in the buying of and selling of cattell in Smithfeild and elsewhere"—the Acts of 1549 and 1663 were revived and continued, with the following addition :—

"And bee it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That noe jobber, salesman, or other broker or factor, which doe or shall cunningly buy or sell cattell for others be allowed or imployed either for buying or selling any fatt cattell other than swine or calves by or for any butcher, or other person or persons whatsoever, within fowerscore males of the cityes of London and Westminster, upon paine of the forfeiture of the value of the said cattell soe bought or sold for him or them as aforesaid, to be paid by the owner of the said cattell. And upon further paine, that all and every person and persons taking upon him or them to use or exercise the said employment of a jobber or broker, or of a salesman or factor for the buying or selling of cattell contrary to this present Act, shall forfeite for every such offence the value of all such cattell soe bought or sold or exposed to sale by him or them as aforesaid.

"And be it further enacted, that if any person or persons, exercising the trade of a butcher within the cityes of London or Westminster, or within 10 miles thereof, shall buy any fatt cattell and sell the same againe either alive or dead to any person or persons exercising or useing the same trade, that the seller thereof shall forfeite for every such offence the value of such cattell soe bought and sold as aforesaid."

This clause was repealed in 1672 by Car. II., cap. 4.

1706.—The 5 Anne, cap. 34—"An Act for continuing the laws therein mentioned, relating to the poor, and to the buying and selling of cattle in Smithfield, and for suppressing piracy"—contained the following :—

"And whereas there is, notwithstanding the provisions of the aforesaid Act, a pernicious practice, now in use, for one butcher to buy a greater quantity of fat cattle or sheep than he can vend, unless by

selling them again to other butchers, which reduces the number of buyers in *Smithfield*, and may be a very great inconvenience both to the graziers and housekeepers, by subjecting both the one and the other to such price as they shall think fit to give or demand, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the 29th September, 1707, *no person using the trade of a butcher shall sell, or offer for sale, in any market or elsewhere, either by himself or any servant or agent whatsoever, within the cities of London and Westminster, or within* 10 *miles thereof, to any person or persons exercising or using the trade of a butcher, any fat cattle or sheep, either alive or dead*, upon pain to forfeit the value of the cattle or of each sheep so sold or offered to sale as aforesaid."

1708.—This Act is explained by 7 Anne, cap. 6, to the effect that one butcher might sell to another any *dead* calves, sheep, or lambs.

1757.—The English House of Commons, after an inquiry into the distress prevailing among the poor, recommended the enforcement of the laws against forestallers and regrators.

1764.—A parliamentary committee was this year appointed to inquire into the high price of provisions. In its report the committee quote the evidence of several prominent salesmen and butchers that the high prices were not exclusively the effect of "natural causes;" and then occurs the following passage:—

"In support of this opinion they informed the committee of a method now practised of buying large quantities of sheep and oxen upon the road to market, in order to forestall the market of that day, and fix the price by the will of a few engrossers; of another species of forestallers, who buy great numbers of sheep and oxen, and, after slaughter, sell the carcasses whole to the lesser butchers, and thereby set the market price to them, and advance the retail price; and all the witnesses concurred in declaring that if these combinations and arts for gaining and keeping the command of the markets in a few hands could be obviated and prevented, the summer and winter price of meat of all sorts would be more reasonable.

"They were clearly of opinion that at this very time there is no want of fat cattle, and they urged with great force, in support of

that judgment, that through the whole month of *March*, when provisions have been so very dear at *London*, beef, mutton, and veal, have been at a moderate and usual price in the markets of the several counties within 30 miles around the metropolis."

Upon the whole matter the committee came to the following conclusion :—

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this committee the high price of provisions of late, has been occasioned partly by circumstances peculiar to the season and the year, *and partly by defect of the laws in force for convicting and punishing all persons concerned in forestalling cattle* in their passage to market."

1772.—A change came over the scene. There was enacted the 12th George III., cap. 71—"An Act for repealing several laws therein mentioned against badgers, engrossers, forestallers, and regrators, and for indemnifying persons against prosecutions for offences committed against the said Acts"—which contains this very candid recital :—

"Whereas it hath been found by experience that the restraints laid by several statutes upon the dealing in corn, wheat, flour, cattle, and sundry other sorts of victuals, *by preventing a free trade in the said commodities, have a tendency to discourage the growth, and to enhance the price of the same;* which statute, if put in execution, would bring a great distress upon the inhabitants of many parts of London and Westminster."

It was therefore enacted that the above-recited Acts of 1549, 1555, 1579, 1663, and 1706, also "all Acts made for the better enforcement of the same, being detrimental to the *supply of the labouring and manufacturing poor of this kingdom shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be repealed.*"

And all informations, &c., commenced under the said Acts were to cease and determine. But see what follows a quarter of a century later!

1800.—A corn dealer named Rusby was this year found guilty of having purchased by sample in the corn market in Mark Lane 90 quarters of wheat at 41*s.* per quarter, and

having sold 50 of them in the same market, the same day, for 44*s*., Lord Chief Justice Kenyon, in sentencing him, said to the jury, "You have conferred, by your verdict, *almost the greatest benefit of your country that was ever conferred by any jury*." It would have been difficult after this to obtain a conviction against any of the persons who had gutted this ill-used man's residence in Blackfriars Road. No punishment was inflicted on Rusby, as some of the judges doubted whether regrating were really punishable at common law.

Again, on 13th July, two butchers were tried at Hicks's Hall on an indictment for forestalling, by buying cattle on the road to Smithfield Market, when it was stated that the practice was a common one. Being found guilty, defendants were ordered to pay £20 each, or be imprisoned for three months. This was considered a light punishment, and would have been more severe had not the defendants been "the first examples since these sorts of prosecutions fell into disuse."

In Aris's *Birmingham Gazette*, for four days this year it was declared that the high price of provisions had "manifestly been occasioned by forestalling and regrating more than by any real scarcity." The inhabitants appointed a committee, and this committee caused to be compiled and issued in the form of a notice, the definitions and prohibitions contained in the statutes already recited, and gave notice "that the constables of the town will receive information against persons guilty of the above-mentioned offence, and the proper reward will be paid on conviction." *Vide* Langford's "Century of Birmingham Life," ii., p. 101.

1844.—There was enacted 7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 34—"An Act for abolishing the offences of forestalling, regrating, and engrossing, and for repealing certain statutes passed in restraint of trade,—which recited—

"Whereas divers statutes have been from time to time made in the parliaments of *England*, *Scotland*, *Great Britain* and *Ireland* respectively, prohibiting certain dealings in wares, victuals, merchandise, and various commodities of the names of *badgering*, *forestalling*, *regrating*, and *engrossing*, and subjecting to divers punishments,

penalties, and forfeitures persons so dealing; and whereas it is expedient that such statutes, as well as certain other statutes made in hindrance and in restraint of trade, be repealed . . . and whereas, notwithstanding the making of the first recited Act [12 George, cap. 71 (1772)], *persons are still liable to be prosecuted for badgering, engrossing, forestalling, and regrating, as being offences at common law*, and also forbidden by divers statutes made before the earliest of the statutes thereby repealed."

It was therefore enacted that after the passing of this Act the several offences named "be utterly taken away and abolished, and that no information, indictment, bail, or prosecution shall be either at common law, or by virtue of any statute or be commenced or prosecuted against any person for or by reason of any of the said offences or supposed offences." This Act extended specifically to *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

4. Concerning Misapplication of Grain in Brewing, Distilling, &c.

Things had not worked at all smoothly under the more restricted legislation reviewed in the last section. There were still loopholes which required to be stopped before all would work consistently and well. These were searched for, and one was found, in the waste which was believed to be occasioned by the use of grain in brewing, distilling, &c. The art of distillation of spirits from grain had only been introduced into England about A.D. 1250. It was introduced into Europe by the Moors about a century earlier; brewing, I assume, was known and practised long previously, although ale was not the national beverage at an early period, as may be judged from what follows.

Nearly all the prohibitions contained in this section were the direct result of existing or approaching scarcity of food supplies.

1302.—The failure of the English wine crop in 1298 led to

a considerable increase in the brewing of ale, which became the subject of complaint, as affecting the price of grain.

1315.—"The Londoners the same yeare, considering the wheat was much consumed by the converting thereof into mault, ordained that from thenceforth it should be made of other graine; and also that a gallon of the better ale should be sold for 3 halfe pence, and of small ale for one penny, not above." This order was afterwards extended by the king through the whole kingdom.—PENKETHMAN.

1630.—In a letter from the lords of the council, dated "from Whitehall, the xiii of June, 1630," and addressed to "the maior and burgesses of the cittie of Wells," in view of an expected famine, there is the following passage:—

"That the lawes provided as well againste the breweinge or spendinge of strong ale or beere in inns or alehowses be strictly put in execution, as likewise against ingrossers, forstallers of corne, and for the regulatinge of the market for the prices of grayne; and that you cause the grayneries of those to be visited or noted for ingrossers, to see that they may supply marketts accordinge to the lawes; and generally that you will vse all other fitt courses and remedies, either provided by lawe, or w'ch you by yo'r experience knowe best, or can finde out for the preservacon and well husbandinge of the grayne within yo'r jurisdicon."

1646.—At this period it seems that the usual bread-corn of the poor was barley. The king (Charles I.) availed himself of this circumstance in order to establish a new monopoly, by subjecting the brewers and maltsters to a royal licence. His reasons for this measure were declared to be, "for the *relief of the poorer sort of his people whose usual bread was barley;* and for the restraining of innkeepers and victuallers, who made their ale and beer *too strong and heady.*"—Rym. Fæd., xix., 102; xx., 157.

1701.—By 9 Anne, cap. 14—"An Act for encouraging the consumption of malted corn, and for the better preventing the running the French and foreign brandy"—it was recited—

"Whereas the making of *English* brandy and strong waters from

malted corn has been encouraged by several Acts of parliament, whereby great quantities of the worst sort of malted corn, not useful to the brewers, has been yearly consumed by those who set up works for that pupose : and whereas the consumption of *English* brandy and strong waters hath of late years been greatly hindered, as well by the running of *French* and other foreign brandies, as also by a clause in an Act made in the twelfth and thirteenth years of his late majesty, . . . whereby all distillers and tradesmen who sell brandy and strong waters by retail, are compelled to take out licences, as common alehouse keepers."

It was therefore enacted that all French brandy landed before the duty was paid should be forfeited.

1757.—There was enacted, 30 George II., cap. 10—"An Act to prohibit for a limited time the making of low wines and spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or any other sort of grain, or from any meal or flour "—and such distillation was accordingly prohibited for two months.

Same session there was enacted 30 George II., cap. 15—"An Act for continuing an Act of the present session of parliament intituled," &c. [the preceding Act], and the Act was extended to 11th December this year, with a proviso empowering his Majesty by proclamation, or order of council, to suspend the Act and permit distillation from wheat, &c.

1758.—There was enacted 32 George II., cap. 2—"An Act to continue . . . . and also to continue for a farther time the prohibition of the making of low wines and spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or any other sorts of grain, or from meal or flour ; and to prohibit for a limited time the making of low wines and spirits from bran. The Act of 1757 to remain in force until 24th December, 1759.

1759.—There were enacted two measures of restriction this year :—

1. The 33 George II, cap. 4—"An Act to continue for a further time the prohibition of the making of low wines and spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or any other sort of grain, or from meal, flour, or bran." The Act of 1757 was continued to

24th December, 1760, unless the continuation thereof be shortened by any other Act of this session.

2. The 33 George II., cap. 9—"An Act for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon, *for shortening the prohibition of making low wines and spirits from wheat, barley, malt and other grain, and from meal, flour, and bran;* and for encouraging the *exportation* of British made spirits; and for more effectually securing the duties payable upon spirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding and importation thereof;" from the preamble of which it appears that an unexpected good had resulted from the famine necessities of the original measure, thus :—

"Whereas the high price of spirituous liquors hath been a principal cause of the diminution of the home consumption thereof, *and hath thereby greatly contributed to the health, sobriety, and industry of the common people;* and whereas it is therefore of the utmost importance to the public welfare that some timely provision should be made for preventing the return of all those mischiefs which must unavoidably ensue, in case such spirituous liquors should again be suffered to be sold at as low a rate as formerly; and forasmuch as the most effectual and expedient method of continuing the high price of spirituous liquors will be by laying a large additional duty on such spirituous liquors," &c.

This is as neat an excuse for raising the revenue as is often to be found. Additional duties were laid as from 21st April, 1760. The prohibition against extracting spirits from the grain mentioned was withdrawn from same date, unless during the recess of parliament the price of wheat should exceed for two successive market days 48*s.* per quarter in the port of London, in which case the king might by proclamation continue the prohibition.

1768.—By 8 George III., cap. 1—"An Act to amend an Act made in the last session of parliament, to prohibit for a limited time the exportation of corn, ... and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat and wheat flour."

1769.—By 9 George III., cap. 1—"An Act to prohibit for

a further time the exportation of corn, ... and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat and wheat flour."

1770.—By 10 George III., cap. 1, the prohibition was extended to twenty days after the commencement of the next session.

1771.—By 11 George III, cap. 1, the like prohibition again extended to twenty days after the commencement of the next session."

1773.—By 13 George III., cap. 3, the like prohibition was again extended to 1st January, 1774.

1795.—There was enacted 35 George III., cap. 11—"An Act for granting to his Majesty additional duties of excise on worts, wash, and other liquors, made in England, for extracting spirits for home consumption; *and for preventing distillers from making use of wheat or wheat flour in making wash for extracting spirits.*"

1796.—By the 36 George III., cap. 7, it was permitted that certain wheat, wheat flour, and meal, which had been imported under the provisions of 31 George III., cap. 3, "and which had not been found fit for making bread," might be used (*inter alia*) in the distillation of low wines and spirits.

1800.—There was enacted—

1. The 39 and 40 George III., cap. 7—"An Act to prohibit until the 1st day of March, 1800, the making of low wines or spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or other sort of grain or from meal, flour, or any bran, in that part of Great Britain called *Scotland*."

2. The 39 and 40 George III., cap. 8—"An Act for reducing until the 1st day of June, 1800, the duties upon spirits distilled from molasses and sugar, or any mixture therewith; *for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from wheat flour;* and for reducing until the 20th day of September, 1800, and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of *starch*."

3. The 32 and 40 George III., cap. 25—"An Act to prohibit until the 1st day of October, 1800, the use of wheat in making starch."

This extension of prohibition to *starch* was a new feature.

4. The 39 and 40 George III., cap. 62—"An Act to allow for nine months after the passing of this Act the use of *sugar* in the brewing of beer."

In the autumn session of the same year there were enacted other measures, viz.:—

1. The 41 George III., cap. 3—"An Act to prohibit until the 1st day of January, 1802, the use of corn in distilling of spirits and making of starch."

2. The 41 George III., cap. 6—"An Act for continuing until the expiration of forty days after the commencement of the first session of parliament that shall be begun and holden after the 1st day of September, 1801, several laws relating . . . . . to the allowing the use of sugar in the brewing of beer, ... and to the prohibiting the making of low wines or spirits from wheat and certain other articles in that part of Great Britain called *Scotland*."

3. The 41 George III., cap. 6—"An Act for shortening until the 25th day of March, 1801, the time of keeping in steep for malting barley *damaged by rain in the last harvest*."

1801.—There was enacted 42 George III., cap. 5—"An Act to continue until the 1st day of January, 1802, so much of an Act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty as relates to the reducing the duties upon worts or wash brewed or made from molasses or sugar, or any mixture therewith, or to any distiller or distillers, or maker or makers of spirits; for reviving and continuing for the same period so much of the said Act as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch, and for continuing for the same period an Act made in the same session of parliament for prohibiting the making of low wines or spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or other sort of grain, or from any meal, flour, or grain in *Scotland;* and so much of an Act made in the last session of parliament as relates to allowing the distillation of spirits in *Scotland* from molasses or sugar at a lower rate of duty."

And the same session there was enacted the 41 George

III., cap. 16 (United Kingdom)—"An Act to prohibit, until the 25th day of March, 1802, the making of malt and the distilling of spirits from corn or grain in *Ireland.*"

1802.—There was enacted—

1. The 42 George III., cap. 5—"An Act to continue until the 1st day of January, 1802, so much of an Act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty as relates to the reducing the duties upon worts or wash brewed or made from molasses or sugar, or any mixture therewith, or to any distiller or distillers, or maker or makers of spirits; for revising and continuing for the same period so much of the said Act as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch; and for continuing for the same period an Act made in the same session of parliament for prohibiting the making of low wines or spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or other sort of grain, or from any meal, flour, or bran in *Scotland;* and so much of an Act made in the last session of parliament as relates to the allowing the distillation of spirits in *Scotland* from molasses or sugar at a lower rate of duty." The title tells its own tale without reference to the Act itself.

2. The 42 George III., cap. 14—"An Act to permit until the 1st day of July, 1802, the making of starch from rice or potatoes, or any mixture thereof, and the importation of any starch from *Ireland* free of duty."

5. Restrictions against Importation and Exportation of Grain.

It must have become apparent at a very early period that all attempted restrictions of prices at home would be apt to work irregularly, while foreign markets were open to our producers. The very fact of there being a limitation of price at home would naturally cause our merchants to seek out markets where better prices could be obtained, and where the operation of our laws could not be enforced. Other

considerations, however, would here arise. When, in times of scarcity at home, the limitation in the price of articles of food would necessarily be relaxed, the foreigner would come in and share the benefit. This was in truth a benefit to all concerned. But the moment the emergency was over, the foreigner must be excluded or the interests of agriculture would suffer. During the Roman occupation of Great Britain (B.C. 55 to A.D. 449) agriculture had so flourished that this became the greatest grain-exporting country of the world, the legions of Rome in their conquests in various parts of Europe being probably supplied from our granaries. But we have now to grapple with the dark and slavish policy of the Middle Ages. This is what happened :—

1329.—By 3 Edward III., the *importation* of wheat, rye, or barley into this realm [*England*] was prohibited, unless the price of wheat exceed 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter ; rye 4*s.* ; barley 3*s.*, at that port or place where the same should be brought in, "upon paine of forfeiture thereof."

1360.—By 34 Edward III., cap. 20, no corn was to be transported [exported from England] but to *Calais* and *Gascoign.*

1393.—By 17 Richard II., cap. 7, it is enacted as follows :—

"*Item*—The king, at the request of the commons to him made this present parliament, hath granted licence to all his liege people of his realm of England to ship and carry corn out of the said realm to what parts that please them, except to his enemies, paying the subsidies and duties thereof due ; notwithstanding any ordaining, proclamation, or any defence made before this time to the contrary ; nevertheless he will that his council may restrain the said passage when they should think best for the profit of the realm."

1425-6.—This last-named statute was confirmed by 4 Henry VI., cap. 5.

1436.—By 15 Henry VI., cap. 2, it was enacted, "corn being at small price, viz., wheat at 6*s.* 8*d.* and barley at 3*s.* the quarter, *may be carried forth of the realm without licence*," the following reasons being given :—

"*Item*—Forasmuch as by the law it was ordained that no man might carry nor bring corn out of the realm of England without the

king's licence, for cause whereof farmers and other men who use manurement of their land may not sell their corn but of a low price to the great damage of all the realm: our said sovereign lord the king, willing in this case to provide remedy, hath ordained by authority aforesaid that it shall be lawful to every person to carry and bring corn out of England, and the same to sell to whatsoever person that he will, except all only to the king's enemies, as often and as long as a quarter of wheat or barley is so shipped; and that without suing any licence for the same: all other statutes before this time thereof made to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided always that the king be contented of his customs and money. And this ordinance shall endure till the next parliament."

1441.—The last-named Act was confirmed by 20th of same reign (1441), and made perpetual by 23 Henry VI., cap. 5.

1463.—By 3 Edward IV., cap. 2, it was enacted—

"Whereas the labourers and occupiers of husbandry within this realm be daily grievously endangered by bringing in of corn out of other lands and parts into this realm, when corn of the growing of this realm is at a low price; our said sovereign lord the king considering the premises, by the advice, assent, and authority aforesaid, hath ordained and established, that no person from the feast of St. John the Baptist next coming shall bring or convey into any place or port of this realm, by way of merchandise or otherwise, any wheat, rye, or barley, which is not of the growing of this land, or of any isle pertaining to the same, or of the growing of *Ireland* or *Wales*, at any time that the quarter of wheat doth not exceed the price of 6*s*. 8*d*., the quarter of rye 4*s*., and the quarter of barley 3*s*. of lawful money of England, within the place or port where such wheat, rye, or barley shall happen to be brought; upon pain of forfeiture of the said wheat, rye, and barley, the one half to our said sovereign lord the king, and the other half to him which shall happen to seize any such wheat, rye, or barley; provided always that this Act extend not to any wheat, rye, or barley taken by any of the king's liege people upon the sea without fraud or covin."

1464-5.—By 4 Edward IV., cap. 5, the importation of any merchandise *except provisions* from the countries of the Duke of Burgundy (which then extended over Burgundy, Lotrike

[? Utrecht], Brabant, Luneburgh, Flanders, Artois, Henault, Holland, Zealand, Nassau, the markship of the Holy Empire, Friesland, Meynes, &c.) was prohibited.

1472.—An Act of the parliament of *Ireland*, 12 Edward IV., cap. 3—"An Act that no grain be laden out of the realm, unless the same be at a certain price"—was as follows :—

"*Item*—At the request of the commons, for that there is so great lack of money in this land, and also the grain are enhanced to a great price because of great lading from day to day used and continued within this realme ; *by the which great dearth is like to be of graines, without some remedy be ordeyned in the said parliament.* Whereupon the premises considered, it is ordeyned, enacted, and established by the authority of the said parliament, that no person or persons lade no (*sic*) grain out of the said land to no other parts without, *if one peck of the said grains exceed the price of ten pence*, upon pain of forfeiture of the said grain or the value thereof. And also the owner of the ship within the which the said graines are laden shall forfeit the said ship (that is to say), the one moyety to the party that seize or take the said grains on ship."

1531.—By 22 Henry VIII., cap. 7, whoever should convey any horses, geldings, mares, or *sheep*, to any parts beyond the sea, without the king's licence, save for the victualling of *Calais*, was to forfeit 40*s.* for every poll. (See 1562.)

1533.—In the 25 Henry VIII., cap. 2—"Proclamations for the prices of victuals, viz., the prizing of them, and proclaiming the prices,"—there is contained the following :—

"IV. And be it further enacted, that no person or persons, unless it be by license under the king's great seal, from henceforth shall carry or convey, or cause to be carried and conveyed, any corn, beefs, muttons, veals, porks, or any other of the above said victuals, to any the parties [? parts] beyond the sea, except only for victualling of the towns of *Callis*, *Guisnes*, *Hammes*, and the marches of the same, and except for victualling of masters, mariners, and merchants of ships passing the seas ; and also except barrelled butter and meal to be carried to the parties of *Ireland*, as hath been accustomed ; upon the pain of forfeiting the value of the thing conveyed and

carried into the parties of beyond the sea contrary to this Act, the one-half thereof to the use of our sovereign lord the king, and the other half to the party who will sue for the same," &c.

1554.—By 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 5—"An Act to restrain carrying of Corn, Victuals, and Wood *over the Seas*," it is recited :—

"Whereas sundry good estatutes and laws have been made within this realm, in the time of the Queen's Highness most noble progenitors, that none should transport, carry, or convey out of this realm into any place in the parts beyond the sea, any corn, butter, cheese, or other victuals (except only for the victualling of the towns of Calice, Hames, and Guisnes, and the marches of the same) upon divers great pains and forfeitures in the same contained. That, notwithstanding, many and sundry covetous and unsatiable persons, seeking their own lucres and gains, have, and daily do carry and convey, innumerable quantity as well of corn, cheese, butter and other victual, as of wood out of this realm into the parts beyond the seas, by reason whereof the said corn, victual, and wood are grown into a wonderful dearth and extreme prices, to the great detriment of the common wealth of this your highness realm, and your faithful subjects of the same."

In future no such exports to be made without licence, except when the prices should not exceed the following: wheat, 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter ; rye, 4*s.*; barley, 3*s.*: then it should "be lawful to every person and persons to carry and transport over the sea to any place beyond the seas at their pleasure, any of the said kinds of corn, so that it be not to the king and queen's enemies.

1558.—By 1 Elizabeth, cap. 11—"An Act lymiting the tymes for layeing on Lande Marchandise from beyonde the Seas, and touching Customes for Sweete Wynes,"—it was provided :—

"XI. . . . That it shall be lawful to ship, lade, and transport into the parts beyond the sea, all manner of corn and grain out of the counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and either of them, at such places as heretofore hath been accustomed, and between the hours in this Act appointed [in the daylight and in an open place], when the same corn and grain shall not exceed the several prices mentioned in

this statute, 5 and 6 Edward VI. [1552, Table No. XII.], entituled 'An Act against regrators, &c.,' the customs and subsidies therefore due be well and truly paid; anything in this Act or any other Act to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided that nothing herein was to be 'prejudicial or hurtful to the isle of *Anglesea*, the shires of *Carnarvon* and Flint in *North Wales;* but that the inhabitants thereof, and every of them, may receive, lade, and discharge, according to their old ancient uses, customs, or liberties granted to them, or any of their predecessors, by the late king, of famous memory, king Henry the VIII., or any other her progenitors. So that they and every of them pay the customs and subsidies that shall be due, and discharge and load within the times and hours before mentioned."

1562.—By 5 Elizabeth, cap. 5—"An Acte towching certayne Politique Constitutions made for the maintenance of the Navye,"—sec. 17, it is enacted that corn might be *exported* by British subjects in English ships at certain ports, when not exceeding the following prices, viz., wheat 10*s.*, rye, peas, and beans, 8*s.*; and barley or malt, 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter; and then—

"XXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that from and after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next coming, it shall be lawful to all and every person and persons, being subjects to the queen's majesty, her heirs and successors, only out of such ports and creeks as by the queen's majesty's proclamation hereafter shall be published and appointed, and not elsewhere, *to load, carry, or transport any wheat, barley, malt, peas, or beans, into any parts beyond the seas to sell as merchandise, in ships, crayers, or other vessels, whereof any English born subjects then shall be the only owners*, so that the price of the said corn or grain so carried or transported exceed not the prices hereafter following, at the times, havens, and places where and when the same corn or grain shall be shipped and laden, viz., the quarter of wheat at 10*s.*; the quarter of rye, peas, or beans, at 8*s.*; the quarter of barley or malt at 6*s.* 8*d.* of current money of England; any law, usage, or statute made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding."

1570.—By 13 Elizabeth, cap. 13—"An Act for the increase

of Tillage, and maintenance of the Navy," it was set forth when corn might be exported and when not. It might be exported out of certain ports, in certain specified classes of ships, when the prices be allowed "reasonable." Before any grain was transported under this Act, the justices of locality from which export was proposed to be made had to be notified to the queen or her council, and then allowed or otherwise. The custom to be paid for grain transported under this Act was specified. The queen by proclamation might prohibit export.

1571.—By 13 Elizabeth, cap. 13—"An Acte for the Encrease of Tyllage," &c.—it is enacted that corn might be *exported* to friendly countries by British subjects, from certain ports, in certain ships, at all times when proclamation was not made to the contrary, on the price of corn being ascertained yearly in the several countries. A duty of 12*d.* per quarter imposed on all corn exported. The queen might prohibit the exportation of corn by proclamation at all times.

1593.—By 35 Elizabeth, cap. 7—"An acte for continuing of diverse Statutes"—it is enacted by section 17 that the export of corn may be prohibited either generally throughout the whole realm, or in any of the counties individually, having seaports; and further—

"XXIII. Provided always . . . That when the price of corn or grain exceedeth not the rates hereafter following, at the times and havens, and places where and when the same corn and grain shall be shipped or loaden, viz., the quarter of wheat at 20*s.*; the quarter of rye, peas, and beans at 13*s.* 4*d.*; the quarter of barley or malt at 12*s.* of current English money; that then it shall be lawful for all and every person or persons being subjects of her majesty, her heirs or successors, to load, carry, or transport any of the said corn or grain in such manner and form as in the said Act made for the maintenance of the navy is limited and appointed."

The queen was to receive for custom and poundage for every quarter of wheat so exported 2*s.*, and of other grain 1*s.* 4*d.*, in full satisfaction.

1604.—By James I., cap. 25—"An Acte for continuynge

and revivinge of divers Statutes, and for repealinge of some others"—the following regulations came into force—

"XXVI. Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that when the prices of corns or grains, exceeding not the rates hereinafter following, at the times, havens, and places where or when the same corn or grain shall be shipped or loaded, viz, the quarter of wheat 26*s.* 8*d.*; the quarter of rye, pease, and beans at 15*s.*; the quarter of barley or malt at 14*s.* of current English money, that then it shall be lawful for every person, and persons being subjects of the king's majesty, his heirs or successors, to *transport* of his own, and to buy and transport any of his said corns and grains into any parts beyond the seas in amity with his majesty to sell as merchandise in ships, crayers, or other vessels whereof any English born subject or subjects shall then be the owner or owners, any law, usage, or statute to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."

The custom or poundage to the Crown being 2*s.* per quarter for wheat, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for the other grain enumerated.

The king might by proclamation prohibit the *exportation* of grain either from the whole or any part of the kingdom.

1607.—James I. The Lord Mayor of London addressed a letter (dated 19th March) to the lords of the council, reporting that on account of the exceeding high price of corn, and the scarcity, the bakers were scarcely able to keep 11 ounces weight in the wheaten penny loaf, and requesting that licence might be granted to those who will bring corn to the port of London, and that if such quantities as should be brought in were not vended or uttered there, it might be lawful for them to ship the same out again without paying customs.

1623.—By 21 James I. cap. 28—"An Act for contynewing and reviving of divers statutes, and repeal of dyvers others"—it was enacted—

"III. Provided also . . . that when the prices of corn or grain exceed not the rates hereinafter following, at the times, havens, and places when and where the same corn or grain shall be brought, shipped, or landed, viz., the quarter of wheat at 32*s.*, the quarter of rye at 20*s.*, the quarter of pease and beans at 16*s.*, the quarter of

barley or malt at 16*s.* of current English money, that then it shall and may be lawful for all and every person or persons being subjects of the king's majesty . . . to carry and transport of his own, *and to buy to sell again in markets and out of markets, and to keep or sell, or carry and transport, any of the said corn and grain from the places where they shall be of such prices into any parts beyond the seas in amity with his majesty*, as merchandise in ships, crays, or other vessels whereof any English born subject or subjects then shall be the owner or owners; *or the same to carry and sell, in other parts within this realm* or dominions thereof, any law, usage, or statute to the contrary notwithstanding."

The king's custom or poundage to be 2*s.* per quarter for wheat, and 1*s.* 4*d.* for other grain. The king might by proclamation restrain transportation of grain.

By this Act there was repealed a considerable number of the preceding Acts named in this table.

This the Act itself was confirmed by 3 Car. I., cap. 4 (5), section 24.

1660.—By 12 Car. II., cap. 4—"A subsidy granted to the king of tonnage and poundage, and other sums of money payable on merchandise exported and imported"—it was enacted—

"XI. It shall and may be lawful, immediately after the passing of this Act, for any person or persons to ship, carry out, and transport by way of merchandise, these several sorts of goods following, that is to say, . . . and wheat, rye, pease, beans, barley, malt, and oats, beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese, candles, when the same do not exceed in price at the ports from whence they are laden, and at the time of their lading, these prices following, that is to say, wheat, the quarter, 40*s.*; rye, beans, and pease, the quarter, 24*s.*; barley and malt, the quarter, 20*s.*; oats, the quarter, 16*s.*; beef, the barrel, 5*l.*; pork, the barrel, 6*l.* 10*s.*; bacon, the pound, 6*d.*; butter, the barrel, 4*l.* 10*s.*; cheese, the hundred, 1*l.* 10*s.*; candles, the dozen pounds, 5*s.*, paying the respective rates appointed by this Act and no more, any former law, statute, prohibition, or custom notwithstanding. As a specimen of the scale of duties.—*Exports*, beef, the barrel, 3*l.*; *Imports*, beef, the barrel, 1*l.*"

1663.—By 15 Car. II., cap. 7—"An Act for the *encouragement of Trade*"—it is recited—

"Forasmuch as the encouragement of tillage ought to be in an especial manner regarded and endeavoured; and the surest and effectual means of promoting and advancing any trade, occupation, or mystery, being by rendering it profitable to the users thereof: (2) and great quantities of land within this kingdom for the present lying in a manner waste, and yielding little, which might thereby be improved to considerable profit and advantage (if sufficient encouragement were given for the laying out cost and labour on the same), and thereby much more corn produced, great numbers of people, horses and cattle employed, and other lands also rendered more valuable."

And it is then enacted that when the price of wheat did not exceed at the place from which it was to be exported 48*s*. per quarter, Winchester measure, barley or malt 28*s*., buckwheat 28*s*., oats 13*s*. 4*d*., rye 32*s*., peas or beans 32*s*. of English money, then the same might be exported to places beyond the seas. And when the prices did not exceed those named at the place of import, there might be imported wheat upon paying a customs duty of 5*s*. 4*d*., rye 4*s*., barley or malt 2*s*. 8*d*., buckwheat 2*s*., oats 1*s*. 4*d*., and peas or beans 4*s*.

And it was further enacted, that when the prices of corn or grain, Winchester measure, did not exceed the rates above stated at the markets, havens, or places where the same should be bought, that then it should "be lawful for all and every person and persons (not forestalling nor selling the same in the same market within three months after the buying thereof) to buy in open market, and to lay up and keep in his or their granaries or houses, and to sell again, such corn or grain of the kinds aforesaid as without fraud or covin shall have been bought at or under the price before expressed, without incurring any penalty; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

By this Act it is recited—

"XIII. Whereas a great part of the richest and best land of this kingdom is and cannot so well be otherwise employed and made use of as in the feeding and fattening of cattle, and that of the coming in of late of vast numbers of cattle already fatted, such lands are in many places much fallen, and likely daily to fall more in their rents

and values, and in consequence other lands also, to the great prejudice, detriment, and impoverishment of this kingdom."

And it is thus enacted, "That for every head of great cattle (except such as are of the breed of *Scotland*) that shall be imported and brought into *England*, *Wales*, or the town of *Berwick-upon-Tweed* after the 1st day of July and before the 20th day of December in any year; and for every head of great cattle of the breed of *Scotland* that shall be imported or brought into *England*, *Wales*, or the town of *Berwick* after the 24th August and before the 20th December in any year, there shall be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of 20*s*., and and the sum of 10*s*. to him or them that shall inform and seize the same."

For every sheep so imported there was to be paid the sum of 10*s*. The Act so far as it related to cattle and sheep was not to come into force before the 1st July, 1664, nor to continue longer than the end of the first session of the next parliament. (See 1665.)

Section 18 of this Act is as follows:—"Provided also and be it enacted that it shall and may be lawful to import catle of the breed of the Isle of Man not exceeding 600 in any one year. And corne of the growth of that island out of that island into England, soe as the said catle be landed at Chester, Liverpoole, or Wirewater, anything in this Act to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."

Adam Smith observed of this measure, that with all its imperfections it had done more to promote plenty than any other law in the statute-book.

1665.—By 18 Car. II., cap. 2—"An Act against *importing* Cattle from *Ireland* and other parts beyond the Seas, and Fish taken by Foreigners,"—after reciting the Act of 1663 (sec. 13) it is enacted—"That such *importation* from and after the 2nd February in the year 1666, *is a public and a common nuisance, and shall be so adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, to all intents and purposes whatsoever;*" and further,—

"That if any great cattle, sheep, or swine, or any beef, pork, or bacon (except for the necessary provision of the respective ships or vessels in which the same shall be brought, not exposing the same or

any part thereof to sale) shall from and after the said 2nd February, *by any wise whatever be imported or brought from beyond seas* into this kingdom of *England*, dominion of *Wales*, or town of *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, that then it shall and may be lawful for any constable, tithing man, head borough, churchwardens, or overseers of the port, or any of them, within the respective liberties, parishes, or places, to take and seize the same, and keep the same during the space of forty-eight hours in some publick or convenient place where such seizure shall be made, within which time if the owner or owners of any for them or him, shall make it appear unto some justice of the peace of the same county where the same shall be so seized, by the oaths of two credible witnesses, that the same were not imported from *Ireland*, or from any other place beyond the seas not hereinafter excepted, after the said 2nd day of February, then the same upon the warrant of such justice of the peace shall be delivered without delay; but in default of such proof and warrant, then the same to be forfeited: one-half thereof to be disposed to the use of the poor of the parish where the same shall be so found or seized; the other half to be to his own use that shall so seize the same.

"And for the better encouragement of the *Fishery* of this kindgom, be it further enacted by this authority aforesaid, that if any ling, herring, cod, or pilchard, fresh or salted, dried or bloated, or any salmons, eels, or congers, taken by any foreigner, aliens to this kingdom, shall be imported, uttered, sold, or exposed for sale in this kingdom, that then it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons to take and seize the same; the one-half thereof to be disposed of to the use of the poor of the parish, &c. [as before].

"Povided always, that nothing in this Act shall be construed to hinder the importation of cattle from the *Isle of Man*, in this kingdom of England, so as the number of the said cattle do not exceed 600 head yearly; and that they be not of any other breed than of the breed of the *Isle of Man;* and that they be loaded at the port of Chester, or some of the members thereof, and not elsewhere."

This Act was to continue until the end of seven years. It was made perpetual by 32 Car. II., cap. 2, sec. 2 (1680).

1668.—The 20 Car. II., cap. 7—"An additional Act against the importation of Foreign Cattle," all officers who had seized any cattle, sheep, or swine, beef, pork, or bacon, were saved

harmless; while those who neglected to seize were made liable to a penalty of £100.

1670.—By 22 Car. II., cap. 13—"An Act for the improvement of Tillage and the Breed of Cattle"—it was enacted that it should be lawful after the 24th June of this year for all and every person or persons, native or foreigner, at any time or times, to ship, lade, carry, and transport as merchandise all sorts of corn and grain, "although the prices thereof shall exceed the rates set down" in the Act of 1663, paying for the same the rates stated in the subsidy of 1660. But when the rates did not exceed those following, then there should be paid the custom and poundage following, viz., for wheat when the same shall not exceed the price of 53*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, 16*s.*; and when the price of wheat exceeded the price last named, but did not exceed 80*s.*, the sum of 8*s.*; for every quarter of rye when the price did not exceed 40*s.*, 16*s.*; for barley or malt when it did not exceed 32*s.*, 16*s.*; for buckwheat the same; for oats not exceeding 16*s.* per quarter, 5*s.* 4*d.*; for peas and beans not exceeding 40*s.* per quarter, 16*s.*; each quarter to contain 8 bushels, and each bushel 8 gallons and no more.

This Act also contained the following:—

"III. And for the further encouragement of *French* or pearl barley in this kingdom, there shall be paid for the custom of every cwt. . . . the sum of 5*s.*

"IV. And for the further encouragement of breeding and feeding of cattle of all sorts, be it enacted that from the 24th June which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1670, and from thenceforward, it shall be lawful for every person or persons, native or foreigner, at any time or times, to ship, lode, and transport [export] by way of merchandise these sorts of goods following—that is to say, beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese, and candles, though the same do exceed in price at the ports from which they are laden, and at the time of their lading, the prices set down and limited in the aforesaid [1660] . . . or any other law, statute, usage, or other prohibition to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; paying for the same the respective rates effected by the said Act, and no more,"

with certain enumerated exceptions. It was also made lawful to export cows and heifers, swine or hogs, horses and mares."

Further provisions hereto were made by 3 William and Mary, cap. 8.

1680.—The 31 Car. II., cap. 2—"An Act prohibiting the *importation* of cattle from *Ireland*,"—while making the Act of 1665 perpetual, "forasmuch as, by long experience, the said law hath been found to be very beneficial to this kingdom" contains further enactments in the same direction.

"VIII. And whereas the present laws do not sufficiently provide against the *importation of mutton and lamb out of Ireland* and other parts beyond the seas into this kingdom, but that great quantities thereof are daily imported and sold, to the great loss and prejudice of this kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the said 2nd February, *no mutton or lamb shall be imported into this kingdom from the kingdom of Ireland or any foreign parts;* and all mutton and lamb imported from Ireland, or beyond the seas, or that shall be exposed to sale within this kingdom, shall be subject to the like seizure, and the importers and sellers thereof respectively in the like penalties, as are provided and appointed by any former law against any importer or seller, or importation of any beef, pork, or bacon, from the kingdom of *Ireland* or any foreign parts.

"IX. And whereas the present laws do not sufficiently provide against this *importation* of *butter* and *cheese* out *of Ireland* into this kingdom, but that great quantities thereof are daily imported and sold to the great loss and prejudice of this kingdom; be it therefore enacted, that from and after the said 2nd February *no butter or cheese shall be imported into this kingdom from the kingdom of Ireland;* and all butter and cheese imported from *Ireland*, or that shall be exposed to sale within this kingdom, shall be subject to the like seizures; and the importers and sellers thereof respectively to the like penalties, as are provided in any former law against any importer or seller, or importation of any beef, bacon, or pork from the kingdom of Ireland."

As to cattle it was further provided that the seizure might be made in any parish to which the same might be removed.

1685.—By 1 James II., cap. 19—"An Additional Act *for the Improvement of Tillage*"—the Act of 22 Car. II, "of ever-

blessed memory," cap. 13 (1670), is recited, but inasmuch as no provision was made by the said Act for ascertaining and determining the prices therein set forth, "by reason whereof several great quantities of foreign corn and grain have been imported without paying the respective duties by the said Act appointed contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said Act," it was now determined that justices of the peace upon the coast have power, "upon the oath of two or more honest and substantial persons of the respective counties, being neither merchants nor factors for the importing of corn, nor anyways concerned nor interested in the corn so imported, and each of them having a freehold estate of 20*l.* per annum or a leasehold estate of 50*l.* per annum above all charges and reprises, and being skilful in the price of corn," &c., to determine the prices for the purpose of the said recited Act.

1688.—There were two enactments this year, the first embodying quite a new feature, that of *bounties* on export.

1. The 1 William and Mary, statute 1, cap. 12—"An Act for the encouraging the *exportation* of Corn"—wherein it is recited, "Forasmuch as it hath been found by experience, that the exportation of corn and grain into foreign parts when the price thereof is at a low rate in this kingdom has been a great advantage, not only to the owners of land, but to the trade of this kingdom in general," &c. It was therefore enacted that when malt or barley, "Winchester measure," should be at or under 24*s.* per quarter, rye at or under 32*s.*, and wheat at or under 48*s.* per quarter, the masters and crews of British ships exporting the same should receive a *bounty* on a scale set forth in the said Act. Precautions taken not to allow such grain to be reshipped into Great Britain.

2. 1 William and Mary, cap. 24—An excise Act—contained the following:—

"XVIII. And be it enacted, that when malt or barley of English growth, *Winchester* measure, shall be at 24*s.* by the quarter, or under, rye, of English growth, at 32*s.* by the quarter, or under, and wheat, of English growth, at 48*s.* by the quarter, or under, in the town or port of *Berwick-upon-Tweed;* every merchant or other person

who shall put on shipboard in *English shipping, the master and two-thirds of his mariners at least being their Majesties' subjects*, any sorts of the corn aforesaid, from the said port or town of *Berwick*, with intent to export the said corn into parts beyond the seas, and shall pursue all and every the methods and things prescribed and appointed in that behalf, in and by the said Act made in this present session of parliament, intituled 'An Act for encouraging the exportation of Corn,' shall have the benefit and advantage of the said Act, and of everything therein contained, as fully to all intents and purposes as if the said corn had been put on shipboard from any port or ports of this kingdom or dominion of Wales.

"XIX. Provided always, and be it enacted, that if any merchant or other person whatever shall put on shipboard *any corn of the growth of Scotland*, out of the said port of Berwick-upon-Tweed, *that all such corn shall be forfeited* (that is to say), one third part to their Majesties, one third part to the informer, and the other third part to the poor of the said town of Berwick."

1697.—By 8 and 9 William III., cap. 22, a duty of 6*d.* per bushel was laid upon malt.

1698.—Grain and other articles of food were afterwards the subjects of fiscal burdens by indirect enactments wherein they are nowhere specifically named. Thus, in the 9 and 10 William III., cap. 23—"An Act for granting to His Majesty a further subsidy of tonnage and poundage towards raising the yearly sum of 700,000*l.* for the service of His Majesty's household, and other uses therein mentioned, during His Majesty's life"—a duty of 12*d.* in the £ on the value of all goods and merchandises imported was imposed. This was held to apply to grain, and accordingly raised the duty then payable thereon.

By 10 William III., cap. 3—An "Act to *prohibit the exportation* of any corn, malt, meale, flour, bread, biscuit, or starch for one yeare from the 10th February, 1698"—it is recited that the price of corn in the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed was at this time excessive; and that in several other parts of Europe it was "scarcer and dearer than in England;" hence no corn, &c., was to be exported except under the provisions of this Act. The commissioners of customs might seize all vessels unduly

laden with corn for exportation, even to Scotland, and take the same to the king's warehouse. But corn might be exported for sustenance of crews and passengers of ships, and for British ports and colonies, and for the benefit of English fisheries, and malt to the Channel Islands, also carried coastwise, and on navigable rivers. And on decrease of price the king might by proclamation permit exportation before expiry of this Act.

1698-99.—By 11 William III., cap. 1—"An Act for taking away the *Bounty* Money for *exportating* Corn from the 9th February, 1699, to the 29th September, 1700"—the purpose for which the said bounties had been instituted are recited, and then: "But forasmuch as it appears that the present stock and quantity of corn in this kingdom may not be sufficient for the use and service of the people at home, should there be too great an exportation into parts beyond the seas, which many persons may be prompted to doe for their own private advantage and the lucre of the said bounty or allowance money," it was suspended accordingly for one year.

1700.—1. By 11 and 12 William III., cap. 20—"An Act for taking away the Duties upon the Woollen Manufactures, corn, grain, bread, biscuit and meal exported"—it was enacted:—

"IV. And for the greater encouragement of tillage, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the 30th day of March, 1700, the subsidy and all other duties whatsoever payable for or upon the exportation of wheat, rye, barley, malt, beans, peas, and other sorts of corn and grain whatsoever, ground or unground, and for and upon the exportation of bread, biscuit, and meal, or any of them, out of or from the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-on-Tweed, as to so much of the said commodities, or any of them, as shall be so exported after the said 30th day of March, shall cease, determine, and be no longer due or payable to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, any law, statute, usage, or prescription to the contrary notwithstanding."

2. By 12 and 13 William III., cap. 10—An Act of supply—there is provision made as to the payment of the bounties under the Act of 1688.

1703.—By 2 and 3 Anne, cap. 9—"An Act for granting to Her Majesty an additional subsidy of tonnage and poundage for three years," &c.,—the increase of duty on all grain and other merchandise imported was increased by one-third.

By the 9th Act of the Parliament of *Scotland*, holden by Queen Anne this year, intituled, "An Act discharging importation of Irish victual, beef, and cattle," the importation of victual from Ireland or any other places beyond the seas into Scotland was restrained and prohibited, under several penalties contained in the said Act, and in other Acts of the Parliament of Scotland therein referred to. But with this proviso, that when, by reason of dearth, the prices of victual should exceed the rates specified in the said Act, the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Scotland should have power, after due trial by them taken of the prices of victual, to suspend and discharge the execution of the said prohibitory Acts for such space of time as the exigencies of the said dearth should require.

1704.—By 3 and 4 Anne, cap. 5—"An Act for granting to Her Majesty a further subsidy on wines and merchandises imported"—an additional poundage equal to two-thirds of that imposed by 9 William III., cap. 23, was imposed.

1706.—In the treaty of Union between England and Scotland, made this year, it was provided by Article VI. that the prohibition as then in force by the law of Scotland against the importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond the seas, into Scotland, should after the union remain in the same force as it then was, until more proper and effectual ways should be provided by the Parliament of Great Britain for discouraging the importation of the said victual from beyond the sea. This treaty was confirmed by 5 Anne, cap. 8.

Same session, by 5 Anne, cap. 29, Parliament desiring "that there may be as great an *equality of trade* as possible" among all Her Majesty's subjects, enacted (by section 15) that exporters of *malt made of wheat*" should be entitled to 5*s.* per quarter bounty-money (in conformity with William and Mary, statute 1, cap. 12 (1682.)

I do not intend to pursue the melancholy picture of perverted

ingenuity which these legislative measures present further. They consolidated into our irrational system known as the *corn-laws*, long since happily swept out of existence.

6.—Weights and Measures.

In relation to fixed prices for commodities it was of course desirable that there should be uniformity of Weights and Measures throughout the land. This, however, was very far from being the case. Probably in consequence of our commercial dealings with so many different nations, we have had a greater variety of Weights and Measures in use than I suppose could be found to prevail in any other country. And this, too, notwithstanding the declaration of *Magna Charta*, (and many others before and since it) that there should be but one weight and one measure throughout the land. It is only in the year of grace in which we now are (1879) that this consummation so devoutly to be wished seems probable of realization.

I propose now to present a few of the laws which have heretofore been passed in this connexion :—

1391.—The 15 Richard II., cap. 4—"There shall be but 8 bushels of corn striked to the quarter," recites as follows :—

"*Item*—Whereas it is ordained by divers statutes that one measure of corn, wine and ale should be throughout the realm, and that 8 bushels striked make the quarter of corn ; nevertheless, because that no pain is thereupon ordained in the said statutes, divers people of divers cities, boroughs, towns and markets, will not take, neither buy in the said cities and sell in none other place, but 9 bushels for the quarter; and if they cannot buy in that manner, they arrest it as forfeit to the great damage and oppression of all our people, and manifestly against the statute aforesaid."

Whereupon it was ordained and assented that the said statute should be firmly kept and holden as well in the city of London, and in every other place throughout the realm,

and that as well by water as by land, notwithstanding any usage in times past to the contrary.

1532.—By 23 Henry VIII., cap. 3—"An Act for Fleshe to be sold by weight,"—it was enacted that any person who should sell by himself or any others, the carcasses of beefs, pork, mutton, or veal, or any part or parcel thereof after the 1st August then next ensuing, should sell the same by lawful weight, called *haberdupois*, and none otherwise; the said flesh to be cut out in reasonable pieces, according to the request of the buyer, in like fashion as afore that time was used, without fraud or covin; and that every person who by himself or any other should sell any flesh of the said carcasses, should have with him where he should make sale of the said flesh, sufficient beam scales and weights, sealed, called *haberdupois*, for true serving of the buyers. And that after the said 1st day of August *no person should take, or cause to be taken for any pound weight of flesh of the carcasses of beef or pork, above the price of one half peny and half farthing* upon pain of forfeiting 3*s.* 4*d.* "Provyded always, that the heedes, neckes, inwardes, purtynances, legges, nor fete shall not be counted no parte of the carcasse afore said, but such be solde for a lower price." The lord chancellor and justice of assise, justice of peace, mayors, bailiffs, &c., might fix lower prices, and special powers for "towns and Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge."

1533.—The 25 Henry VIII., cap. 1, enacted that the governors of cities and market towns, upon complaint to them made of any butcher refusing to sell victual by weight according to the statute 24 Henry VIII., cap. 3, might commit the offender to ward until he had paid all penalties limited by the said statute; and might sell or cause to be sold for money all such victual for ready money to be delivered to the owner, and if any grazier, farmer, breeder, drover, refuse to sell his fat cattle to a butcher upon such reasonable price as he may retail it at the price assessed by the statute, the justices of the peace, mayors, and governors, should cause indifferent persons to set prices of the same, which if the owner refuse to accept

them, the same justices, &c., should bind him to appear the next term in the Star Chamber, to be punished as the king's counsel should think good.

1535.—By 27 Henry VIII., cap. 9, butchers were permitted to sell flesh for two years, as they did before the making of the statutes 24 Henry VIII., cap. 3 (1532), and 25 Henry VIII., cap. 1, and notwithstanding these enactments.

1541.—By 33 Henry VIII., cap. 11—"An Act for butchers to sell at their liberty by weight or otherwise,"—it is recited at the instance of the masters and fellowship of butchers, and of other butchers within the realm, that if the Acts of 1533 and 1535 "should hereafter be put in execution, and your said orators compelled to sell flesh by weight . . . should be to the utter undoing of your said orators for ever." Whereupon it was enacted that it might "from thenceforth be lawful unto all your said subjects to sell their victuals from time to time by themselves, their wives and servants, to all manner of persons that will buy the same in like manner and form as they might have done before the making of the said estatutes or any of them."

1670.—By 22 Charles II., cap. 8—"An Act for ascertaining the measures of corne and salt"—it is recited that there was a great variety of measures existing in the "several countyes, cittyes, burroughes, ports, and other places of this realme for the measureing, buying, and selling of all sorts of graine, salt and other commodityes usually bought and sould by the bushell, to the great defrauding and oppressing of the people contrary to the great charter," &c. It is therefore enacted that the "Winchester measure" only be used, under a penalty of 40*s*. And to the end that there might be "a just and certaine measure," so as to determine all controversies, there was to be affixed before the 29th of September this year within the cities, borough and market towns, "one measure of brasse provided and chained in the market-place upon paine of forfeit and loose for every person soe neglecting respectively the summe of 5*l*." Constables to search for other measures and to break them. (See 1391.)

1670.—By 22 and 23 Car. II., cap. 12 (2), corn, &c., was not to be sold without measuring.

7. Punishment of Bakers and other Offenders.*

It would have been useless to devise and proclaim many of the enactments already reviewed, unless there had existed speedy and special means of inflicting punishment upon transgressors. Accordingly we find special provisions to this end, which from time to time appear to have been freely made available.

1266.—Under the *Statute Assisa Panis et Cervisie* of this date, already quoted in some detail in the second section of this paper, was contained the following :—

"*Punishment of a Baker or Brewer transgressing the Assise.*—And if a baker or brewer be convicted that they have not kept the foresaid assises, the first, second, and third time they shall be amerced according to the quantity of their offence ; and that as often as a baker shall offend in the weight of a farthing loaf of bread not above ij *s.* weight, that then he be amerced as before is said ; but if he exceeds ij *s.* (he is to be set upon) the pillory without any redemption of money. In like manner shall it be done if he offend oftentimes and will not amend, then he shall suffer the judgment of the body, that is to say, the pillory if he offend in the weight of a farthing loaf under two shillings weight as is aforesaid. Likewise the woman brewer shall be punished by the tumbrell, trebuchit, or castigatorie, if she offend divers times and will not amend."

1290.—At this date, and probably for some time earlier, the bakers who supplied London with bread mostly lived at Stratford-le-Bow, Essex, probably on account of its proximity to Epping Forest, where they could obtain firewood at small cost. At a later date Bromley (Bremble), also by Bow, but nearer to London, was the seat of many bakeries. The bread was taken to the city, to the market in Bread Street in carts,

* In ancient Rome the *Bakers* appear to have received much attention. They were formed into a Society [gild ?] by the Emperor Trajan ; and from him they received special privileges.

and was often seized on its way for being of light weight or made of unsound materials.

Note.—It seems that the bakers of Southwark were not allowed to vend bread in the City, because they were not amenable to the City laws. In the *Horn Book* under date 1293 is the following entry :—"*Item*—That no regrators shall come from below London Bridge, for the buying and preparing of bread in the City ; because the bakers of Southwark are not permitted by the statutes of our City to come from without the City." (See 1302.)

1298.—26 Edward I. A mandate for the preservation of peace within the City was issued by the king, addressed to Henry le Galeys, mayor, which recites and ordains as follows :

"Edward by the grace of God, &c., to the mayor and sheriffs of London, greeting. Forasmuch as we have heard that the bakers, and brewsters, and millers, in the city aforesaid, do frequently misconduct themselves in their trades : . . . We of our counsel, wishing to apply a fitting remedy to all the premises, and to strike both them and others with fear of so offending, do command you, and strictly enjoin, that you will so chastise such bakers, brewsters, and misdoers, with corporal punishments, and so visit the other offences, at your discretion, that they may excite in others in like case a fear of so offending. And that all corn to be ground at mills within the city aforesaid, and without, shall be weighed by the millers, and that such millers shall answer in like weight in the flour coming therefrom. And to the matters aforesaid, and all other things which unto the office of the mayoralty of the same city, and to the preservation there of our peace, do pertain, you are to cause to be inviolably observed. Witness myself at York, the 28th day of May, in the twenty-sixth year of our reign."

1302.—30 Edward I. The bakers of London were first allowed to sell bread in their own shops this year. Previously all the bread was sold in Bread Street (off Cheapside).—STOW. The London Bakers' Company was incorporated 1307.

1307.—We next advance to another stage of the proceedings taken by the City authorities in the matter of bread.

There were four principal halimotes in the year, when all the City bakers were bound to meet together : whereof the first was kept after the first of St. Michael, for the profit of the City and the kingdom. That the bakers assembled together take and know their new sheriffs, and retain in their memories the statutes of the City belonging to the bakers, and receive the assay of bread.

The second halimote was held after the Nativity of our Lord : that if there be any transgression made in the first term of the year, it may be there without difficulty more fully amended.

The third halimote was accustomed to be called together after the close of Easter, as well for the coming of the king as of the nobles of his kingdom ; lest there might seem to fall out a want of this kind of service—that is, in a convenient supply of the City and inhabitants with good bread.

The fourth halimote was after the Nativity of St. John Baptist : that what should be solemnly appointed by the common council and providence (*sic*) of the City in the first three terms, in this fourth term might be profitably confirmed. So that the goodness of so great a work might not run to disprofit by ignorance or by negligence.

To these four halimotes all the bakers must come. And if they come not, nor excuse and essoin themselves reasonably they forfeit to the sheriff 21*d.*

In these Halimotes, it is stated in the *Horn Book*, were the following particular laws and charges given to all the City bakers :—

"Let 2 or 4 loaves be made for a penny : and let the Baker make no kind of bread of greater price to sell, but only 2 or 4 loaves to a penny ; and that according to the assize for the present year.

"Let no Bran loaf be made ; nor being made of Bran, which is worse in breaking than [it appeareth] without.

"Let every Baker have his Seal appearing in his Bread : so that it may be the better and more openly known whose it is. And let this manner of sealing be as well in *bisse* [brown] Bread as in white.

"Let no Baker sell Bread in his own house, nor before his own

oven. But let him have a Basket with his Bread in the King's Market. *So that if his Bread shall not be competent according to the Market of Corn, the Baker's body be at the mercy of the Justice.*

"Let no Baker go into *St. Michael's* [Cornhill] Churchyard [where bread corn was sold], nor the market of *West-chepe*, *Garsecherch*, or *Billyngsgate*, nor to *Botolve's Wharph*, nor *Queenhithe*, nor go aboard any ship to buy corn, before the first ringing. [We learn from *Stow*, regarding this, that in olden times bells were rung in several church steeples of the City, Bow for one, at certain hours of the day, and this as well for devotion as for business; and before the first ringing in the morning none might go out to buy provision.]

"Let no Baker make meal of Felger, of Sticks, Straw, nor of Rushes.

"Let no Baker entertain any one beyond one night, unless he have him suspected of some transgression.

"Bakers keeping hogs may safely nourish them for themselves in their own houses, or elsewhere without the streets and lanes of the City.

"Let no Regrateress pass *London Bridge* towards *Suthwark*, or elsewhere to buy bread, to carry it into the City of Lond. to sell: because the Bakers of *Suthwark* nor of any other place are not subject to the Justice of the City.

"Let no Baker draw away his neighbour's servant from his service so long as he ought to tarry in his service, whether by hire or by obligation of trust, and this under pain of 40*s.* for the use of the Sheriff.

"If any Baker's servant make a transgression against his master, so that he hath presumed to depart unlicensed from his service, we decree under Forfeiture to the Sheriff, that none of the Bakers receive him, and retain him, until he have fully satisfied his master.

"Whereas it is common for Merchants to give credit, and especially for Bakers commonly to do the same with Regrateresses: under the pain before taxed we forbid, that no Baker make the benefit of any credit to a Regrateress, as long as he shall know her to be involved in her neighbour's debt.

"For the avoiding the innumerable and intolerable dangers and scandals which are often wont to arise between fellow-Bakers, we firmly forbid that none presume to enter into this trade, unless of his own, or the help of his friends, he can sufficiently fulfil the said

trade to our lord the King, and the City of London, with 40*s*. in value chattels, and find pledge to perform it.

"That no loaf be made to sell of three farthings or five farthings, nor of a halfpenny, nor of a greater price. But in case such a loaf shall be found to be carried in one's arms, or under any towels, let it be taken to the use of the Sheriff without any recovery.

"Bread made out of *London*, and brought into the City to be sold, we decree to be adulterate; and therefore we firmly enjoin that no Baker nor Regrateress presume to buy any such Bread to sell, unless it be of competent weight according to the Bread made in the City of London, according to that which the year requireth.

"Let no Bread be taken cold, but warm, as it is delivered to the Baker by assay.

Let no Turtary [*Turtarius*] sell Bread to a Regrateress, neither in their shops, but only in their chests [or baskets] and in the King's market; and not in their house under pain of 40*s*.

"Let no Turtary make white Bread, nor on the contrary.

"Let no Bread be sold in the King's market but on *Wednesday* and *Saturday*. And if any Bread shall be found to be sold at the aforesaid place but on those said days, it shall be called a Forfeiture without recovery.

"Six or eight of the Bakers shall swear before the Sheriff to keep the aforesaid Statutes, and to accuse those that go against them."—*Stow*, p. 343.

1316.—10 Edward II. Gilbert Parry was indicted and convicted for selling maslin halfpenny loaves of short weight in the city, "and because it was found that he had been twice drawn on the hurdle, and was now for the third time found in default, it was adjudged that he should be drawn now for the third time, and should then forswear the trade of a baker in the city for ever. And he did abjure it before the mayor and aldermen in full court," &c.—"Memorials of London," p. 123. "Maslin" bread was compounded of wheat and rye flour combined. The designation is still current in the north of England.

1348.—22 Edward III. Pike, in his "History of Crime in England"—a work of the highest authority—writing of the punishments of delinquents at this period, says:—

"Turn where he might, the traveller could hardly fail to light upon some group which would tell him the character of the people he had come to see. Here, perhaps, a baker with a loaf hung round his neck, was being jeered and pelted in the pillory, because he had given short weight; or because when men had asked for bread, he had given them, not a stone, but a lump of iron enclosed by a crust. There perhaps an oven was being pulled down, because a baker had been detected in a third offence, and had been compelled to abjure trade in the city for ever. If there were no bakers to be punished on any particular day, the pillories could never have been all without occupants. They were used to punish the sellers of bad meat poultry, and fish, . . . of oats good at the top of the sack and bad below, . . . and the petty pilferers of every kind."

For some verification of this see RILEY'S "Memorials of London" (1858), p. 498.

1365.—39 Edward III. An ordinance was promulgated "as to the sale by hostelers and herbergeours of bread and horse-bread,* &c., which recites:—

"Whereas many grievances and damages have been done heretofore unto divers folks repairing to the city of London, for that the hostelers and herbergeours of the same city have made horse-bread to sell in their houses, at their pleasure; the which have been of no

* *Horse-bread.*—There are many allusions in early English literature to horse-bread. In the *Alvearie*, 1580, it is designated *Panis Equinus.* In Harrington's *Ariosto*, 1634, vii. 62, we find—

"Her stature scarce three horse-loaves did exceed."

In Cotgrave's *English Treasury of Wit and Language*, 1665, there is reference to the price of horse-bread, where he calls a dwarf (*Nimbot*), "a low dapperling *three halfepenie horse-loafe;*" and again under "Nain,"—"a dwarf, a dandiprat, one that's no higher than three *horse-loaves.*" In one of Latimer's sermons has been found a reference to horse-bread to the following effect:—A traveller alights at an inn, goes in and makes good cheer, forgetting his horse, when there enters the ostler saying, "Sir, how much bread shall I give your horse?" There are also many references to the use of horse-bread on the Continent. Nares mentions its use in Flanders, in the early part of the present century; and within the present generation in the Black Forest a coarse brown bread has been used, and may still be used, to feed travellers' horses.—*Vide N. and Q.*, 5th S. xi., p. 425.

assise, and not of the value that it ought to be; and also some hostelers and herbergeours do go into Southwark and elsewhere, where they please to buy horse-bread, and there buy it dry, and at the rate of 18 loaves for 12, and then sell it to their guests at one half-penny the loaf, whereas 4 such loaves are really not worth a penny; to the great scandal of the said city, and to the great damage of the common people.

"Therefore the mayor and aldermen, with the assent of the commons, by way of remedy, ordered that the persons aforesaid shall buy bread for such guests, and for their horses, of the common bakers of the said city, each loaf being stamped with the mark of the baker of whom the same was bought; that so every one may see that the bread is of the right assise, and of the real value that it ought to be."—"*Memorial of London*," p. 323.

1374.—In the guild of St. John Baptist, founded at Lynn, Norfolk, in this year, the dean was to buy wastel-bread for the poor with part of the offerings resulting from the services for the dead.

1379.—In the Gild of the Annunciation founded in Cambridge this year, it was enacted in the ordinances that no Parson or Baker should come into the gild.

1401.—The conduit on Cornhill was built this year, with a pillory at the top "for the punishment of Bakers offending in the assize of Bread, for millers stealing of corn at the mill, for bawds, scolds, and other offenders.—*Vide* Stowe's Survey.

1417.—4 Henry V. On the 4th February it was ordered that in time of Lent simnel loaves [*i. e.*, loaves of the finest wheaten flour] should not be made, nor yet any other white loaves, that are called painman, maincherin, &c., but only three kinds, namely tourte, bis [brown bread, known also as trete], and white.

In a vocabulary of the early part of this (fifteenth) century, contained in Mr. Mayer's privately printed volume of vocabularies, no less than twelve sorts of bread are named (pp. 197-8). But among these there are many of very coarse quality, and not made from wheat. Wastel-cocket and simnel were the only sorts usually recognised in the "Assize of Bread." In

the vision of Piers Plowman the contrast between the sorts of bread is strongly put. Piers tells Hunger that "A lof of Benes and Bren I take for my children;" but adds that after harvest—

> "Ne no Beggare eten Bread, that Benes inne come
> Bote Cocket and Cler Matin, and of clene white."
> (Mr. Skeat's edition of the Vernon Text, pp. 89, 90.).

1467.—In the ordinances of the City of *Worcester*, confirmed at this date, there are the following:—

"IX. Also that Bakers make no fyne with the Bailly for their offencez of bakynge, but that they haue the punysshment of every defaute accordynge to the Statute, and to the lawe. And that they bye no corne vn the market day, in somer tylle xj. of the Belle, and in Wynter tyme tylle xij. of the belle. And that the seid Bakers bye no corne ne mele in hur houses aforn the said owres vppon the market day. And they regrate no corne commynge to the market, in peyne of lesynge xx*s.* for euery of the seid offences, to be payde, the half therof to the Bayllies for the tyme beynge, and the other half to the cmyn cofre. And that the Baillies and the chamberleyns for the tyme beynge shullen yeve warnynge to the Wardeyns of the Bakers crafte, euery Saturday, the assie and wyght for the weke folowynge that thoy shullen bake after; yt to be amonge, vppon peyne of euery Baker, so ofte as he ys founde in defaut, of xl*d.*, to be payne to the Baillies office for the tyme beynge, or els to correcte them according to the Statute. And that the seid Wardeyns shullen wekely come to the seid Baillies for knowleche of the seid weight and assie, and geve warnynge to euery Maister wekely of the same, vppon peyne of euery of them xl*d.* to be peyde, half to the said Baillies and half to the comynalte.

"X. Also, that no Baker resseyve no corne in his house vnder color as his owne vppon the market day, tyll it haue be in the market vnto the tyme that the howre assigned for euery comyner to bye ther be past, vppon the peyne to paye vj*s.* viii*d.*, the oon half to be payde to the Baillies for the tyme beynge, and the other half to the comyn cofer, ther to abyde for the supportacyon of the comyn charge of the cite.

"LXXV. Also, it ys ordeyned at this present yeld, that non Baker that shalle bake eny horsbrede, kepe eny hostre, vppon peyne of euery

tyme found in defaut, of lesynge vj *s.* viii *d.* ; half to the Baillies, and half to the comyns, as ofte as he ys found in defaut."

Under this same Ordinance all innkeepers were required to have "a signe at his dorre vpon peyn of vj *s.* viii *d.*, as often tymes as he is founden in default."

1468.—Edward IV.—Robert Brook and Thomas West, Esqrs., were at this date clerks of the market [London], and in a MS. book of theirs there is recorded the following :—

"*Memorandum.*—The baker shall be allowed in every quarter of whete bakyng, as it his provyd by the kyngis bakers, as it shal appere hereafter.

"*First*, he shal have 4*d.* and all his branne to avauntage; and two lofis for fornage; and three halfpence for three servauntes; and for coles *ob.*, and for yeste *ob.*, and for salt *ob.*, and for wood 3*d.*, and for bultelle [bolting the meal] *ob.*, and for the sealing *ob.*, and for candele, q. summ 11*d.* q. beside his branne, and the two loves.

"This is proved by the statutis: and also by an Acte in William Conqueror's tyme: and the tyme of Henry the III.; and in the tyme of King Edward III.: and never reversed sithen.

"*Memorandum.*—It is ordayned bi statute, that alle manner of bakers dwelling out of cities and burgh townes, as bakers dwelling in villagis and upon Londe, their peny lof, what corne so ever it be, be it white or browne, it shall wey more than the peny lof in the town or city by x *s.*, and the halfpenny lof by v *s.* because they bere not suche chargis as bakers in the cities doon, and townes. And yet they shal kepe the assize truly according unto the statute upon peyne of 6*s.* 8*d.* for his offence, as often as he doth the contrary, beside his mersement for brekyng of the size, if his lof wey nat as they do in cities and burgh townes. And in likewise shal the ferthing lof wey after the statute."

Then follows the "assize of brede" as follows :—

"This is the assize of al maner of brede of whete, and of what eting corne soever it be. It shal be weied after the ferthing wastell; for the symonell shal weye less than the wastel than 2*s.* because of the sething.

"The ferthing white lofe, called the cocket, shal wey more than the wastell by 2*s.* because of the bakyng.

"The halfpeny wheten lofe, that is to say, the halfpeny cribe lofe, shal wey three ferthing white lofys.

"The lofe of al maner of corn, that is to say the horse lof, shall wey two halfpeny white lofis."

In this same book there was also contained the assize for other branches of trade connected with food of the people: thus for the "myller," the "brewer," the "bocher," the "fyssher," &c.

1479.—In a record designed "The Office of the Mayor of *Bristol*," and which contains what may be regarded as the ordinances of that city, compiled about this date, but probably of far greater antiquity, I find the following:—

"27. *Item*, hit hath be vsed, the Maire of Bristow anon after Mighelmas, to do calle byfore hym in the yelde hall, or counseill hous, all the bakers of Bristowe, there to vndirstand whate stuff they have of whete. And after, what sise they shall bake, and to assist and counseil theym in theire bying and bargunyng with the Bagers, such as bryngeth whete to towne, as wele in trowys, as otherwyse, by lande and by watir, *in kepyng downe of the market.* And that the bakers tak no stuffe, in especiall ayenst the fest of Christmas, and at suche tymes as many straungers resortith to the towne. And the Maire, dyuers tymes to ouersee the weyeng of brede at such seasons as he thynketh necessary and requisite, after his discrecion, or vpon compleyntez made vnto hym for the same. And that the bakers enhaunce not their sises above vj *d.* at ones, according to the statute, &c. And whate baker that brekith the sise, to be punysshed, after the constitucion of the toune, as apperith here folowyng in this present boke."

1483.—The guild of the bakers of the city of Exeter obtained from the corporation of the city the grant of ordinances for its government, which we here propose to pass under review. The guild itself dated back to a much earlier period than the present, and had probably had earlier ordinances which had passed into desuetude. These ordinances recite:

"To alle men that this presentez schall here or see, gretyng in oure

Lorde euerlastyng. Where-as the maister and wardons of the crafte of bakers, of the fraternite of oure blissed Lady and Seynt Clement in the citie of Exceter, both diuerse tymez, in vmble wise sued to the honorable Maior, Baillyffs, and Commune counsayle of the said cite, for certayne ordinancez and ruelles to be vsed withyn the Jurisdiccion of the said cite, concernyng the said crafte, vnder the ffavoure of the said Maior, Bailyffs, and commune counsayle, in reformyng diuerse inconvenientez that bene down before this tyme, and here after myght ensue, and for the conseruacion of the politick gouernance of the same, to the lawde and honor of the said ffraternite of oure blissed Lady and Seynt Clement, and the wele of the kyng our soueraygn lordez people. Wherefor, the Mair, Bailyffs and comen Counsayle, consyderyng the desyrez, wille and graunte that the Maister and Wardenez of the said crafte shall enjoye and vse suche ordinauncez and ruellez within the jurisdiccion of the saide cite as folowith."— . . [*inter alia*].

All corn was to be ground at the city mills, so long as those using flour could get enough hence. Search was to be made for bakers buying meal contrary to this custom of the city; also for those not making good bread according to the assize. Presentments to be made of all such findings at the Mayor's Court every Monday, and the materials forfeited. Search also to be made at hucksters' houses for bread made outside the town; all such findings to be presented before the mayor and bailiffs—the city to have half and this guild half. Horse-loaves were to be made two for a penny of clean beans; otherwise a fine. No baker to be allowed in the town unless a freeman *and also one of the guild;* under heavy penalty, half to the city and half to the guild.

1577.—Harrison in his *Historical Description of the Island of Britain*, prefixed to *Holinshed's Chronicles*, first published this year, gives the following description of the various kinds of bread used in his time:—

"Our good workmen deliver commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushel with another, they make 40 cast of *manchet* of which everie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the oven and six ounces out. The second is the *cheat*, or wheaten bread, so named

because the colour thereof resembleth the graie and yellowish wheat, being cleane and well dressed ; and out of this is the coarsest of the bran (usually called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The *ravelled* is a kind of cheat bread also, but it reteineth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat : and this being more sleightlie wrought-up is used in the halles of the nobilitie and gentrie onlie ; whereas the other either is, or should be, baked in cities or good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne dooth beare) and by a statute provided by King John in that behalfe. The ravelled cheat, therefore, is genrallie so made, that out of one bushel of meale, after 22 pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (whereunto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet), they make 30 cast, everie lofe weighing 18 ounces in the oven, and 16 ounces out ; and beside this, they so handel the water, that to everie bushell of meale they add only 22 or 23 pound of water, washing also in some houses, their corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour, and pleasing to the eie. The next sort is named *browne bread*," &c.

1615.—About this date the said J. Powel, clerk of the market, reported to James I. and his counsel that "divers bakers and other persons taking upon them the mystery of baking and uttering of bread unto the king's majesty's subjects in the commonwealth, for their own private lucre and commodity, did not only make and sell to the subjects, breads of odd sizes, made by their own inventions, but also divers kinds and sorts of bread ; which were both repugnant to the laws and good ordinances of the realm, and likewise hurtful to the commonwealth." Further orders and regulations were thereupon issued, and the master and wardens of the company of bakers were especially ordered "to look into and have diligent care and respect unto the due performance of these articles."

8.—Some Confirmations and Exemptions in favour of the Two Ancient Universities.

It is pleasant to see that the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* claimed consideration from the Parliament in the

matter of food supplies at an early date. This, however, was clearly at the instance of the authorities themselves.

1555.—By 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 15—"An Act that purueiours shall not take victuals within fiue miles of Cambridge and Oxford"—the preamble of which is as follows :—

"Hvmbly sue to your maiesties, the societies, colledges, and companies of your true and faithfull subjects, and daily oratours, the scholers and students of both your maiesties vniuersities, Cambridge and Oxford, that where it hath beene accustomed time out of mind, that both the said market townes of Cambridge and Oxford, wherein the said two vniuersities be set, and the circuit of fiue miles next adjoyning, hath beene free from any charge or molestation of any common takers, or purueiours for victuall, whereby the said markets were more plentifully serued with victuall, and the poore estate of a great multitude of scholars, hauing very bare and small sustentation, thereby relieued, and now by the meanes that contrary to the same laudable custome, diuers purueiours and takers haue of late excessiuely frequented the same market, and thereby giuen occasion to make victuals more skant, and much dearer to a notorious decay of scholars, which also daily in this great dearth is like to increase, and be more lamentable, to the hindrance of God's seruice, the dishonour of the realme, and discomfort of all good and holy men louing learning and uertue.

"II. It may therefore please your Maiesties, of your great pitie and abundant fauor and loue towards your said two vniuersities, being the very two onely nurses of good learning in the realme, with the assent of the Lords spirituall and temporall," &c., &c.

And it is then enacted "that from hencefoorth, no manner of purueiour, taker, lodger, or other minister, may or shall take or bargaine for any kinde of victuall or graine, in any of the said markets or townes of Cambridge, and the citie of Oxford, nor shal take or bargaine for any victuall within the compasse of fiue miles thereto adjoyning, without the consent, agreement, or goodwill of the owner or owners, neither shall attempt to carrie, take awaie, or bargaine for any manner of graine, or other victuall brought or prouided within the said space of fiue miles, by any common minister of any colledges, hostell, or hall, to bee spent within any of the said colledges, hostels, or hals, vpon peine of the forfeiture of the quad-

ruple value of any such maner graine or victuall so taken or bargained for;" and for any such offence should suffer imprisonment "for the space of three moneths, without baile or maineprise." The finding might be by jury empanelled by the "Chancellour, Uicechancellour, or his commissarie for the time being," with two "iustices of the peace of the countie wherein the vniversaries be set.

"III. Prouided, that this Act shall not be put in execution at any time or times, whensoeuer your majesties, or the heires or successors of your majestie our Souereigne Ladie, shall please to come to any or both the said vniuersities, or within seuen miles of either of them, but shall be in suspense during that time onely, and no longer."

Nothing in the said Act was to be in anywise "preiudiciall or hurtfull to the maior, bayliffes, and communaltie" of the said cities, and borough.

1570.—By 13 Elizabeth, cap. 21, it was again enacted that purveyors should not take away grain, corn, or victuals, within five miles of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*.

And by 13 Elizabeth, cap. 25—"An Act for reviving and continuance of certain statutes"—it was enacted (sec. 21) "that the Act 5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 15, was not meant to extend, nor should extend, to any wines, oils, sugars, spices, currans, nor other foreign victuals, brought or to be brought into this realm from beyond the seas; fish and salt only excepted."

1757.—The 31 Geo. II. c. 29—"An Act for the due making of bread, and to regulate the price and assize thereof; and to punish persons who shall adulterate meal, flour, or bread," contained the following:—

"XLV. Provided likewise, that neither this Act, nor anything herein contained, shall extend or be construed to extend to prejudice the ancient right or custom of the two universities of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or either of them, or of their or either of their clerks of the market, or to practice within the several jurisdiction of the said universities, or either of them, used to set, ascertain, and appoint the assise and weight of all sorts of bread to be sold or exposed to sale within their several jurisdictions, but that they, and every of

them, shall weight severally and respectively, from time to time, as there shall be occasion, set, ascertain, and appoint within their several and respective jurisdictions the assise and weight of all sorts of bread to be sold or exposed to sale by any baker or other person whatsoever, within the limits of their several jurisdictions, and shall and may require and punish the breach thereof, as fully and freely in all respects as they used to do, and as if this Act had never been made; anything herein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."

1824.—By 5 George IV. cap. 50—"An Act for amending an Act passed in the 53rd year of the reign of His late Majesty King George III., intituled an Act (already cited in full)—the allowance made to bakers under the Act of 1813 was to be reduced in manner herein mentioned. Then the following .—

"II. And be it further enacted, that neither this Act nor anything herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to prejudice the ancient right or custom of the two universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or either of them, or of their or either of their clerks of the market, or the practice within the several jurisdictions of the said universities, or either of them, used to set, ascertain, and appoint the size and weight of all sorts of bread to be sold or exposed to sale within their several jurisdictions; but that they and every one of them shall and may severally and respectively from time to time, as there shall be occasion, set, ascertain, and appoint, within their several and respective jurisdictions, the assise and weight of all sorts of bread to be sold or exposed to sale by any baker or other person whatsoever within the limits of their several jurisdictions; and shall and may inquire into and punish any breach thereof fully and freely in all respects as they used to do, and as if this Act had never been made; anything herein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."

9. Public Granaries, Corn Mills, Bakehouses, and Public Ovens.

Under these several heads some further noticeable usages and customs are recorded. The materials lie scattered, and I do not assume that I have by any means reached all the

details available ; but at this extended stage of my paper, I am desirous of using all the curtailment possible. The facts here given must therefore be regarded only as suggestive of a line of inquiry which will yield some historical results not yet familiar.

It was my intention to have made some reference to markets and fairs under this head ; but these may form the nucleus for a separate paper some day.

Granaries.—At a very early period granaries were established in the city of London. In the 16th century some of these were located in the Bridge-house yard.

1586.—In view of preventing a dearth in the city of London, certain of the city companies "were, by the lord maior's means, to buy each of them a quantity of corn, and to lay it up in the Bridge-house."

1594.—"And such a dear year was that of 1594, Sir John Spencer, maior, who therefore (it being now winter time) called upon the companies, viz., those of them that had not laid in their proportion, to do it within so many days ; corn being then brought in from foreign parts."—STOW.

1610.—James I.—Twelve new granaries were built at Bridewell to hold 6,000 quarters of grain, and two storehouses for sea-coal, to hold 4,000 loads, "thereby to prevent the sudden dearness of these articles by great increase of inhabitants."—STOW.

CORN-MILLS.—In early times the lord of the manor usually held the town or village mill, and in many cases it was the custom that the tenants of the manor should use that mill exclusively. I believe some similar custom still obtains in Scotland.

1197.—The Corporation of London is believed to have had corn mills under its control at a very early date, although we do not find direct mention of the fact. But there are other corn-mills of historical interest. Thus in a record concerning an exchange of the manor of Lambethe for the manor of Darent, made between Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester at this date, there is a notice of a mill which "the aforesaid monks have without Southwark on the

Thames, towards the East against the Tower of London." (See 1302.)

1199.—John, in the first year of his reign, granted to the Knights Templars a place in the Fleet, near unto Baynard's Castle, to make a mill, and the whole course of the waters of the Fleet to serve the said mill. The Knights Templars accordingly established their corn-mills in this location.

1283-4.—The ordinance of the corporate Guild of Berwick-upon-Tweed, of this year contained the following :—

"No one shall grind wheat or other grain in hand-mills, unless through urgent need. The miller must have his share—the 13th part for grain, and the 24th part for malt." This points to the existence of a town-mill.

13th Century.—The ancient customal of Preston contains a clause to the effect that the free burgesses of that borough shall not be compelled to go to the oven, the kiln, or the mill of the lord of the manor.

1302.—By an Inquisition made at this date (30 Edw. I.) reference is made to the interest of the Master of London Bridge in certain corn-mills on the River Lee, in Essex. Stow mentions this circumstance, when speaking of the office of Bridge Master in his *Survey* (vol. ii., page 25), in the following terms :—

"The keeper of the Bridge House had in ancient times an interest in certain mills upon the River Lee, near Stratford; and the Master of St. Thomas of Acres [now Mercers' Chapel, in Cheapside] had a title to other mills there. For as it appears by an old Inquisition, taken in the time of Edward I., there was a *calestum*, *i.e.*, a chalk causeway—on the north, near Stratford, which was made by Queen Maud, through which there were three trenches made for three courses of water to run, for the use of several *mills*, partly belonging to the Master of St. Thomas, and partly to the Bridge Master; over which were three wooden bridges made by the said Masters . . . . one a fuller's mill, and the site of another mill belonging to St. Thomas of Acre; and two other mills called Sayen's mill, and Spileman's mill: this one a water-mill, and the other a fuller's mill, both held by the keeper of London Bridge."

1483.—The *Gild of the Bakers* of Exeter ordained that *all corn should be ground at the City Mills*, so long as those using flour could get enough thence.

1525.—In the 16 Henry VIII., Sir William Bayly, mayor, John Cooke, of Gloucester, mercer, gave to the mayor and commonalty of London, and theirs for ever, one great barge, in which two corn-mills were made and placed, which barge and mills were set in and upon the stream of the river Thames, within the jurisdiction and liberty of the City of London. And also he gave to the City all such timber, boards, stones, iron, &c., provided for making, mending, and repairing of the said barge and mills: in reward whereof the mayor gave him £50 present, and £50 yearly, during his life; and if the said John Cooke died before Johan his wife, then she to have 40 marks the year during her life.—Vide Stow's *Survey*.

1633.—About this date there was standing a windmill above the waterworks in Queenhithe, right in the City; and another in the Strand, near where St. Mary-le-Strand [or St. Clement Danes'] now stands.

At an early period there existed in Southwark the mill of the Abbot of Battle.

1758.—There was enacted 32 George II., cap. 61—"An Act for discharging the inhabitants of the town of *Manchester*, in the county palatine of Lancaster, from the custom of grinding their corn and grain, except malt, at certain water corn-mills in the said town, called *the School Mills;* and for making proper recompense to the feoffees of such mills." This, although contained in the schedule of the statute at large as a public Act is regarded as a local and private Act, and its title alone is printed.

Much additional information concerning mills—"privileged flour-mills" will be found in *N. & Q.*, 5th S. xi., p. 410—elicited in connection with the present enquiry.

Town or Village Bakehouses or Ovens.—From a very early period there seem to have existed in various parts of London public ovens for the convenience of the poor, although under what regulations these were heated and regulated for general

use does not appear. There was one on the top of Cornhill during the 14th and 15th centuries which belonged to the Bishop of London, as superior Lord of the Soke.—See Riley's *Memorials*, p. 129.

1473.—The records of the Manor of Manchester contain the following under this date: "The wife of Thurston Chaloner holds a common oven (*furnum*) at the will of the lord."

1521.—About this period a bequest by John Throstone, or Thurston, citizen and goldsmith (who had been sheriff in 1516), of £200, was applied, by the directions in his will, to the erection of ten public ovens near the granaries in the Bridge House Yard; six of these being very large, and the remainder only half the size.

10.—Dearths and Fasts.

Under this head a few remarkable incidents fall to be noted.

1336.—By 10 Edward III., statute 3, it was enacted that none should be served at any meal with more than two courses, except at certain festivals. But this enactment appears to fall within the pale of the sumptuary laws, and not to have been the result of any special scarcity of food.

1562.—In the 5 Elizabeth, cap. 5—"An Act touching Politick Constitutions for the maintenance of the Navy," but which was in reality an Act to encourage fisheries and the mercantile marine, in view probably of drafting young fishermen into the royal navy,—there was contained the following clauses:—

"XIV.—And for increase of provision of fish by the more usual and common entering thereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, in the year of our Lord God, 1564, *every Wednesday, in every week, throughout the year, which heretofore hath not been by the law and customs of this realm used and observed as a fish-day*, and which shall not happen to fall on *Christmas* week or *Easter* week, shall be hereafter observed

and kept, *as the Saturday in every week be or ought to be.* 2. *And that no manner of persons may eat any flesh on the same day*, otherwise than ought to be upon the common Saturday:"

under pain of the penalties therein provided; see further hereon, 1593.

1585.—By the 27 Elizabeth, cap. 18, so much of the statute 5 Elizabeth, cap. 5 (1562), as concerneth the eating of fish, and restraineth the eating of flesh upon Wednesdays, was repealed. Sea-fish might be sold any day in the week saving Sunday. Victuallers were to issue no flesh in Lent, nor upon *Fridays* or *Saturdays.*

1593.—By 35 Elizabeth, cap. 7—"An Act for reviving, continuing, explaining, and perfecting of divers statutes"—the Act of 1562 was amended as follows:—

"XXII. Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person eating any flesh upon any fish-days, contrary to the Form of the said statute made for the maintenance of the navy [1562], shall forfeit only 20*s.*, or else suffer only one month's close imprisonment without bail or mainprize; and every person or persons within whose house any such offence shall be done, and being privy or knowing thereof, and not effectually publishing or disclosing the same to some public officer, having authority to punish the same, for every such offence to forfeit only 13*s.* 4*d.*, anything in the said statute contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

1630.—A royal proclamation was issued to the inhabitants of London and Westminster, in regard to the dearth then existing, of which the following is the substance:—

"Whereas by an ancient and laudable custom no suppers were wont to be kept on Fridays, or the eves of Feasts commanded to be fasted, nor upon Wednesdays or Saturdays in the Ember weekes and time of Lent, but a generall abstinence from suppers on those nights, and the same course is to this day, for the most part, observed, not only in His Maiestie's most honourable Household, and in the families of most of the Nobilitie and greate men of the Kingdome; but also in the Innes of Court and Chancerie, and in the Colledges and Halls of both Universities, and all other public places of good order, and

in the houses of many Knights and Esquires that are commended for good housekeeping according to the ancient manner of England, for which this realme hath heretofore been so much honoured. Howbeit that good and laudable custome is daily more and more neglected, and that good order broken, especially in tavernes, innes, ordinaries, houses of dicing and playing, coolies' houses, and other victualling-houses, where commonly there is more waste and excesse on the Fasting nights than in any time of the weeke besides.

"His Majestie therefore doth straightly charge and command that his said ancient custome be observed in all and singular tavernes innes, ordinaries, houses of dicing and play, coolies' houses and other Victualling-houses; and that no suppers be in them or any of them, or by the owners of them, or any of them, or their servants, had, dressed, or provided for to be eaten either in their owne houses or elsewhere, upon any the Fasting-nights aforesaid; and that in the bonds or recognizances to be taken of them for observation of Lent and fish-dayes, this article be specially remembered and provided for.

"And as His Majestie doth command this course to be observed in the places aforesaid, so he doth, with the advice of his Privie Counsell, commend the same course to the rest of his subjects in their privat families, in this time of scarcity, and that they would out of that which shall be saved by this abstinence, and by their sober and moderate dyet at these times, charitably and bountifully employ some good proportion towards the relief of those that shall be in penury and want, and would be glad to be refreshed with the meanest of that foode which is superfluously spent in rich men's houses.

"And for the same hath, His Majestie by the advice of his Privie Counsell, doeth will and ordayne, that the usual Feast at the Halles of Companies in London, which at other times have beene and may be used, be, during the time of sicknesse and dearth, this yeare forborne.

"And because the sayd Societies and Companies shall by this meanes of putting over their Feasts, spare much money of that which hath beene heretofore usually spent that way, His Majestie doth specially recommend it unto them, that those who should have borne the charges of those feastes, would allow, if not more, yet at least the one halfe of what that charge would have come unto, towards the reliefe of the poore; which being orderly disbursed, will be a great comfort unto

them, and will be a matter of great charitie in the doers thereof; and being by them accordingly performed, His Majestie will graciously accept thereof, and will find meanes to give them their due commendation and right; as on the contrary hee shall have cause to remember the hardness of their hearts, which in this time of want shall show themselves so mercilesse as not to distribute upon the poore, one halfe of that which they would be content to spend on a Feast, which may well bee spared."

1665.—During the early stages of the great plague in London this year the Lord Mayor issued (in June or July) an order which contained the following:—

"That all public feasting, and particularly by the Companies of this city, and dinners in Taverns, alehouses, and other places of public entertainment, be forborne till further order and allowance, *and that the money thereby spared be preserved and employed for the benefit and relief of the poor visited with this infection.*"

1800.—This year the inhabitants of Westminster, or many of them, entered into a conpact known as "The Engagement," of which the following is an exact transcript:—

"We the inhabitants, householders of the parish of St. Anne's, within the Liberty of Westminster, being earnestly desirous of giving the most steady effect to his Majesty's late proclamation, and of affording all possible relief, under the present pressure, do sincerely engage, and solemnly bind ourselves, that we will practise the greatest economy and frugality in the use of every species of grain; that we will use our utmost endeavours to reduce the consumption of bread in our respective families, by at least one-third of the quantity consumed in ordinary times; and that we will in no case suffer the same to exceed one quartern loaf for each person per week; and that we will abstain from the use of flour in pastry, and moreover restrict the use of it in all other articles than bread. And further, that such of us as keep horses, and especially horses for pleasure, will, as far as our respective circumstances will admit, carefully restrict the consumption of oats, and of other grain, for the subsistence of the same. And we further solemnly pledge ourselves, that we will use the strictest economy in every other article of food, and take the greatest possible care, that neither a profusion be allowed nor a waste committed in our respective households.

"To which solemn engagement, not less important to us individually than to the general welfare of the country, we have affixed our hands, this 17th day of December, 1800."

Nor was this all; another step remained to make this movement complete, and this was to try and teach the household domestics, by no means an easy task at any time. This was attempted to be accomplished as follows:—

"And as it is equally the duty and interest of servants, as of their employers, that this engagement should be carried into entire effect, it is expected that all servants will readily, and with a hearty good-will, unite with their respective families in this necessary measure. Should, however, the contrary in any instance occur:—

"It is resolved, that any servant refusing to concur in the object of this engagement, and in consequence quitting a place, or being discharged, shall not be received by us into our homes, nor, as we have reason to believe, will they be received by any of our friends."

Further resolutions were passed for assisting the poor in the present emergency.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF.

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The term "deaf and dumb," as commonly used in this country to include the whole of this unhappy class, is a misnomer, the only persons to whom it could properly apply being those wholly uneducated, or who cannot hear or speak, though educated or partially so. It will be thus seen that for the vast majority of these unhappy ones—for all, indeed, if properly educated—the term should be "deaf," not "deaf and dumb;" for there is no such thing as a child born dumb because deaf. All without exception are born with voice, *i.e.*, can produce vocal sound. It is only because of the want of a proper means of communication between deaf children and hearing persons that the former become dumb. Their brain-power, too, is the same as that of ordinary persons,—in fact, deafness alone makes them to differ.

There are two great systems of education for the "deaf and dumb," called the "German" and the "French." The former teaches language and all other branches of instruction by means of articulation and lip reading; the latter by signs and the manual alphabet, the language of signs being in an inverted order as far as English and all other European languages are concerned,—*e.g.*, "Ball plays boy." Written characters and pictures are common to each.

The only other system of importance is called the "combined." This, as its name implies, is a combination of the "German" and "French."

It is the object of this paper, while glancing back to the earliest times at the history of the "deaf and dumb," chiefly to trace the origin and formation of the systems before mentioned.

The earliest record known relating to the deaf and dumb is in the Book of Exodus, iv. 11; the next is in the Book of Leviticus, xix. 14; where it is said, "Thou shalt not curse the deaf." Would that this holy law had been observed by all nations! But we find, in the few passages relating to the deaf and dumb in other countries, that they were almost universally considered a special curse sent upon their relations, and were often destroyed to take away the reproach supposed to attach to those related to them; frequently had terrible cruelties inflicted upon them, and at best were treated as idiots and kept in confinement. Even the master mind of Aristotle was betrayed into the error of believing the deaf and dumb incapable of producing sound and unendowed with reason. Although the utter injustice of such a theory has long since been proved, there are, unhappily, even at the present day, individuals who imagine that the deaf are physically incapable of speech, and idiocy a natural consequence of dumbness.

The common law of our own land relating to the deaf is most equitable; everything is made to depend upon the capacity of the person in each individual case; *e. g.*, a deaf and dumb person cannot be punished for crime, cannot make a will, administer property, be a witness on a trial, or exercise any civil right unless it can be shown that he understands the nature of the act in each case. If this is proved to the satisfaction of the court, if he appears to have sufficient knowledge and appreciation of the consequences of such acts, then he is treated like any other person—must bear the responsibilities and has a right to the privileges of every Englishman in the possession of his faculties.

Under the Roman law, spendthrifts and the deaf and dumb —being unable to administer their property—were placed under a curator, who had to see that they and their estates were properly cared for.

For centuries after scarce a mention is made of the deaf and dumb ; and of the possibility of their instruction no idea seems to have been formed until the year A.D. 685, when we learn that the then Archbishop of York, St. John of Beverley, taught a deaf and dumb person to speak—a poor beggar whom he passed daily.

This he is believed to have done much as practised now in the "German" system schools, by getting the pupil's attention, by making him imitate the motions of the lips and vocal organs of the teacher, and so produce articulate sounds.

This appears to be the only recorded case until eight hundred years later, when in the fifteenth century Rudolphus Agricola, a native of Gröningen, in his posthumous work "De Inventione Dialecticæ," relates having seen a person deaf and dumb from infancy, who had learned writing and was able to express all his ideas by that means. Mention is next made by Rabelais of a young Italian named Nello di Gabrielis who, though deaf, could understand all that was said to him by merely watching the lips of the speaker. Why the witty French writer should have thought fit to divert his pen from its usual coarsely humorous and satiric channels in order to describe a case of this nature is difficult to imagine, unless it was a cover under which he managed to attack, in his usual scathing though often obscure manner, religious opinions and customs distasteful to himself.

In the eleventh century Jerome Cardan, a learned but erratic Italian, "took," we are told, "the subject into serious consideration ;" and it appears that he thought out most of the points now in use in the "French" system ; but, being a highly unpractical man, no good came of his labours in this direction, unless his views were afterwards copied and passed off as original,—which is quite possible.

We now pass to Spain, where, about the same time as Cardan, lived a Benedictine monk, Pedro Ponce—or Pedro Ponce de Léon, as he is more often called,—who taught two brothers and a sister of the Constable of Arragon ; and after this a son of the Governor of Castille ; all these being *toto*

congenitals. He left in manuscript deposited in the library of his monastery the methods he adopted in the education of his pupils; and there is good reason for believing that Jean Pablo Bonet, another Spanish priest, who forty years later published in 1620 a work on the deaf and dumb, derived much of his knowledge from Ponce, as he taught another member of the same house of Castille, and must have had much opportunity for conversation with his pupil's relations, who would have remembered Ponce and his system. Also it is not improbable that Bonet had access to Ponce's manuscript. Bonet's book was much used by De l'Epée, though his system seems to have been the "Combined." This is one out of many instances that could be given to show how often the "Combined" has degenerated into the "French" system.

It is a curious fact that one and the same idea, before unheard of, will spring up, as it were spontaneously, in many parts of the world at the same time. Philosophers have in vain tried to account for this most remarkable phenomenon. Take one instance well known to all—the electric telegraph—it is a point that will be disputed to all time who first invented it. The truth appears to be that somewhat of the same idea came into many minds at the same time. Our present telegraph, as now in use, is the product of many minds. So also in the question with whom should rest the credit of having first invented a system of education for the deaf. Here again the same thought seems to have been engendered in many minds at the same time. During Bonet's life, and for a hundred years after, in Italy, France, Great Britain, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and Germany, persons were found, most of whom, in all honesty, believed themselves the inventors of a hitherto absolutely unknown science—the science of educating the deaf.

In England John Bulwer published the first work on the subject in 1644, entitled "Philocophus, or the Deafe and Dumbe Man's Friend." A few years later Wallis, Savilian Professor at Oxford, a man of great scientific knowledge, and Dr. William Holder, a clergyman of the Church of England and

a Fellow of the Royal Society, gave their attention to the subject, and practised their theories on a few pupils; their system was the "Combined," and from Wallis' writings Braidwood obtained most of his information. In 1680, George Dalgarno, a native of Aberdeen, published a work containing much that would be found useful and practical by the teachers of the "French" system at the present day; it is entitled "Didascalocophus." In it he printed the first manual alphabet—his own invention—ever seen in this country. In 1690, Dr. Amman, a physician, a native of Switzerland, but practising in Holland, published a work called "Surdus Loquens," believing himself the first instructor of the deaf. The book was so highly thought of that it passed through many editions, and was translated into several foreign languages. It may be said to have commenced the "German" system.

Of others who taught the deaf and dumb, or mentioned them in their writings, the following may be named:—Affinate, Fabrizio d'Acquapendente, Jean Bonifacio, Pierre de Castro, Lana Ferzi, George Sibscota, Peter Montans, Van Helmont, Kerger, George Raphel, Otho Benjamin Lasius, Arnoldi, Vanin, Rodrigue Pereire, Ernaud, Deschamps, and Henry Baker.

But, excellent as were many of the ideas given in the works before mentioned, we must pass on to the lives and teaching of three great men—Samuel Heinicke in Leipzig, the Abbé de l'Epée in Paris, and Thomas Braidwood in Edinburgh, who are justly looked upon as the founders of the systems in use at the present day, the "German," the "French," and the "Combined." The term "founders" is used, for they were not the sole inventors of these systems; nor are the systems, as now taught, in all respects identical with theirs; but each was instrumental in founding a school in which his system was carried out, and where men were trained who should carry on the work after the founders were dead and buried. It is for this that we must always associate with intense gratitude the names of Heinicke, Braidwood, and De l'Epée with the deaf. Before their time every one who had taken up the subject was

content either to let it die with him, or to leave its virtues to the precarious fortunes of writing,—not one trained others to succeed him.

De l'Epée was born A.D. 1712, Heinicke 1729, and Braidwood about the same time. The characters of the two former were widely different. De l'Epée was frank, open, generous, self-sacrificing; Heinicke reserved, mysterious, and apparently somewhat avaricious. But it must be borne in mind that the former was a priest, without worldly cares or a family to provide for, whereas Heinicke was a poor man, who had to fight his way to obtain and keep an honourable position, and to maintain a young family. Still, Heinicke's supposed character, and the mystery he indulged in, have naturally told against the success of the system which he founded. True, it has become universal almost in Germany, has spread and is spreading far and wide over other countries, where till recently the "French" system alone was taught; has entirely superseded the latter in Holland; bids fair to do so in Italy; has advanced even into France, and is compelling unwilling attention in America and our own country; but the wide publicity given to their teaching by De l'Epée and his successor the Abbé Sicard caused the French system to be generally adopted a century before the "German."

And this leads to a point of great importance to us in this country; a point about which there has been written in America more error than on any other relating to the deaf. It has been asserted that the "German" system was tried in England, failed, and was discontinued. The origin of this error is not far to seek, but the mischief it has done is incalculable. Gallaudet, the noble "apostle of deaf mutes," as he is often called in America, desiring early in this century to learn how to instruct the deaf and dumb, came to this country and made the acquaintance of Dr. Watson, the first head of the London Institution. The "Combined" method was here in use, for Watson had learned under Braidwood. But Gallaudet met with difficulties; Watson wished him to do certain things which he objected to, and he left without having mastered the

method of teaching employed, and so it came to pass that Gallaudet, knowing that Watson taught articulation, but knowing no more, went away with the notion which has prevailed in America almost to the present day, that Watson was teaching on the "German" system. He took this for granted because articulation was taught. He failed to appreciate, as so many do now, the cardinal difference of these systems. It is this, that under the "Combined" method, a system of signs is the basis of instruction, articulation being only an accomplishment, just as modern languages were taught in our old public schools, with the result we all know. Those thus taught never feel at home in speaking, find great difficulty in making themselves understood, and so soon cease to try.

The same result is observed with those taught on the "Combined" method. They find people outside their schools unable to understand them, and so they, too, soon cease to make the attempt.

Thus articulation is brought into discredit, not as being in any way unsuited to the deaf, but because it has been treated as an accomplishment. Indeed, the case of those thus educated practically differs but little from the results obtained under the "French" system, but that little is not in favour of the "Combined" method, for the pupils so taught are taken away from the rest to learn articulation, it may be for half an hour a day more or less. What are the constant remarks of the teachers? Why, that the "articulation pupils are behind the others." And no wonder, for whatever takes the pupil away from his companions, be it articulation, drawing, Latin, or any other things foreign to the ordinary work of his class, must have the effect of making him show to disadvantage with his class-mates, whose attention and time have not been disturbed. But it may be argued, "Could not more time be given to articulation?" This would be of no avail, so long as signs constitute the basis of instruction, for it has been found that so long will the pupils think in them rather than in articulation. In that case no good result would be gained, because articulation would be but a foreign language

in which ease enough to be pleasant or useful would rarely be gained, an annoyance very often, a task, and ever lead to disappointment.

A "foreign language"! Is it not startling to hear English spoken of thus in the case of English children? Yet such is English to those taught on the "French" and "Combined" methods. It is a foreign language to them, as we are constantly reminded by the teachers of those systems. Let us see whether such is the case with those taught on the "German" system.

Here, to begin with, there is no inverted order; and as those taught thereon have no other medium for thought than the English language, there is certainly no reason, theoretically, why their language should not be as pure as that of hearing children. This is scarcely the case at first, yet it is found that such a result is reached before leaving school, and is not lost afterwards.

There are upwards of a hundred schools for the deaf in Germany and (some of course purer than others, but still) all on this system. And it has been found, as one might imagine from so practical a nation as the German, that the system in universal use in that country is best fitted to enable the deaf to fight their way in the world and become useful and independent members of society. That such is the case, that they use speech as the means of every-day intercourse with those they come in contact with, is evident to any one who has sought out the old pupils in after life, those only being unable to communicate readily who have been educated in institutions where a certain amount of signs had been allowed. It has been proved that just in proportion as signs are allowed in schools, so those thus taught therein are less able to use speech in after life.

In conclusion the evidence on this subject points to the necessity of "French" system schools for the weak in intellect, and the very few whose speech, had they been hearing persons, would have been scarcely intelligible. All others should be educated on the "German" system. And it

should be borne in mind that it is for the poor that education on this system is so especially desirable. Important as it is to all, to the poor the gift of speech is of intense value, enabling them to make themselves understood by the world at large.

There are about 20,000 deaf and dumb in this country. Of these only about half have received any education at all which shows the appalling number of 10,000 wholly uneducated, not knowing right from wrong, in this land of boasted civilization and intellectual development. As the life of the deaf mute is of so short an average duration, it follows that a larger proportion than of hearing persons are of a right school age, and it has been calculated that there are 2,000 such receiving no instruction whatever, and only 100 are being taught on the best method. To remedy this, the first necessity appears to be a supply of teachers trained on the "German" system, as it is so little known in this country. To this end an effort is being made to establish a training college under the direction of an English gentleman who has been specially trained for this purpose in Germany.

It is also rumoured that a society is about to be started in order to spread the blessings of education to the deaf both rich and poor, throughout this kingdom, and that this will be done by establishing small day schools throughout the country on the "German" system.

THE TURANIAN EPOCH OF THE ROMANS, AS ALSO OF THE GREEKS, GERMANS, AND ANGLO-SAXONS, IN RELATION TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

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THE paper which is here offered to the Royal Historical Society, following that of the Khita-Peruvian in 1877, and the early English in 1878, brings the results of new investigations to bear on the history of early or Turanian (Turano-African) culture in the world, and its contact with the Assyrians and consequent decline.

I. The first portion deals with the question of the foundation of Rome as a Turanian kingdom, explains the legendary history, and shows how the Aryan blood and language were introduced.

II. To make this more fully clear, the neighbouring Etruscans are treated of in the second portion, as also in connection with the Lydians and Carians.

III. The third part briefly points out the Turanian relations of the proto-Hellenic or Turanian population of Greece preceding the Aryans.

IV. The fourth part applies the main facts to the illustration of a like influence in Anglo-Saxon and Norse mythology, and deals with the extension to an earlier epoch of the commencement of English history.

V. The fifth and concluding lecture shortly explains the connection and origin of the populations to which the history of the ancient world refers, and derives them as a white race under the designation of Turano-Africans from High Africa.

I.—Prisco-Roman.

The origin of the Romans has been the subject of many theories, of more theories than facts, because the legends supply us with the chief accounts, and the main fact we have is that the later Romans spoke an Indo-European or Aryan language. Into the various theories it is the less necessary now to enter, as the object of this paper is to present new facts, and to throw a light on the true bearings of the legends.

It has been a favourite doctrine that because the Romans spoke an Indo-European language, there must have been Aryans in Rome from all time. In anthropology it is a well-known fact that language is no absolute test of race, and that a race may acquire an alien language. With this we are familiar in these islands by the example of the Irish, for instance, who have within the memory of those now living become, in a majority, English-speaking. Many examples will occur to the least observant, as being found throughout the world.

It is quite within the compass of possibility that the main body of the Romans consisted of people of other race and institutions, who, coming under the leadership of Aryans, thereby conformed to the language we now know as Latin. The Latins may no more have been Aryans than the people we now call Scotchmen were Scots.

Some difficulty in the determination of Roman origin has been caused by our ignorance of what the neighbouring people were. At an early period of history we find them under Aryan influence, more particularly of the Greeks, but ultimately the new Latin language spread over the whole country.

The difficulty is by no means lessened by the obscurity of the Etruscan language, as to which it has not been known whether it was Aryan or what. It may be said that no writer has yet satisfactorily deciphered one out of the mass of inscriptions we have, or even successfully classified the few scattered words to be found in the classic writers. Of old the

testimony of Herodotus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus was discordant, and so the controversy has remained until these days, when the Rev. Mr. Ellis has propounded an Armenian interpretation; Lord Lindsay, Teutonic; Professor Corssen, Aryan; Isaac Taylor, Ugro-Altaic; and that great scholar, Professor F. W. Newman, has endeavoured to make Etruscan Italio-Greek, abandoning his favourite Berber, which might have brought him nearer the mark.

My own researches, as laid in detail this year before the Philological Society, fully establish the character of the Etruscan as a Turanian language, belonging to one great group, or a family of families, allied to the languages of all the nations of early culture, the pre-Hellenic, Thracian, Phrygian, Lydian, Carian, Georgian, Canaanite, the Akkad of Babylonia, and Egyptian. Among modern languages the analogues are with Basque, Ugro-Altaic, Georgian, many languages of India and Further India, Japanese, Coptic, and the languages of higher culture of Central, Western, and Southern Africa, and many languages of North, South, and Central America.

The moment we obtain authority to regard the Etruscans as non-Aryans, the investigation of Roman origin assumes a determinate shape, because we can labour in that direction to ascertain whether there was any Turanian influence affecting the Romans. Of course we know from Roman history that the Romans did refer to the Etruscans on matters of mythology and divination, but this is not sufficient to show anything more than the like intercourse with the Greeks, from whom they borrowed so much.

The mythologies here referred to may be taken under observation. The names of the Roman gods, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Neptune, Minerva, Venus, Mercurius, Pluto, notoriously differed from those of the Greeks, Zeus, Hera, Hares, Poseidon, Pallas, Aphrodite, Hermes, Dis, &c.; but then they differed none the less from the Etruscan Tina, Uni, Laran, Turan, Turma, except in the names of Menerfa and Nethuns.

Of course it is taken for granted that the Roman and the

Greek names are Aryan, and as the name of Zeus can be made like a form for Day, it is further taken for granted that the whole system of Greek and Roman mythology was nothing but a kind of weather system of symbolic meteorology. Though Mars, like his comates, was the god of war, and Venus, like hers, the goddess of love or beauty, we are called upon to set all the materialism aside, and to believe that the aspect of the skies in fair weather and in foul furnished the whole theology of the Aryan populations. This theology, too, was handed down from the time when there was only one stock of Aryans living from the beginning of the world in High Asia.

In working out this theory, which many look upon as established, and ignorance of the symptoms of which they regard as a test of want of instruction and intelligence, we find ourselves face to face with the fact that parallels to many portions of the so-called Aryan mythology and theology are to be found all over the world, even among savages of various kinds, who can hardly be regarded as having been the fellow-countrymen of the primitive and enlightened Aryans in High Asia, when they are imagined to have invented the institutions of culture which especially mark the Aryans out from the nations of the earth.

It is to be noted that the Aryans in their first appearance on the historic scene in Greece and Italy, and so it may be said of the Celts, and Germans, as well as of the Slavs, were undoubtedly rather in the condition of savages than of leaders of civilization. It therefore becomes questionable, so far as they were concerned, whether their after culture was Aryan, or whether it was derived from the civilized populations which they dispossessed.

On looking beyond the Aryans we find affinities to Latin, Greek, and Aryan mythology. It appeared to me, therefore, desirable to ascertain whether, as several of the gods whose functions were well known had names of which Indo-European roots do not explain the meanings, those names can be explained in other languages. Attempts to obtain Hebrew, Phœnician, and Semitic meanings have failed, con-

sequently what are called Turanian languages have to be tried.

This search enabled me to find equivalents of the word War for the war gods, Etruscan, Greek, Roman, and Norse or Anglo-Saxon, so for the goddess of love or beauty, for the god of the sea, of the sun, of the moon.

For the war god we have the names Hares, Mars, Laran, Thur ; for the love god Aphrodite, Venus, Turan, Iduna. Thus in each case the words differ from each other, though the forms of those for war god have some resemblance. Each of the four words has an identical meaning in languages, which from facts are known to be allied to each other, and are all now spoken in the same region.

The bearing of this on Etruria and Rome is that the gods belong to the same mythology, and that mythology is Turanian. The likeness of Neptune and Minerva is not casual.

Carrying the examination further, the names of the legendary kings of Rome, recorded by Livy, and those of Etruria, have the meaning of "king" in the same languages to which the names of gods belong.

Further, the Etruscan words recorded in Latin writers can generally be interpreted from the same sources, and so can the Lydian and Carian. The names of the towns of Italy, Greece, Lydia, and Caria agree with town names of the corresponding area. The words in Etruscan, Lydian, and Carian are relatively few, but the vocabulary of the Akkad cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia is much more copious, and this also conforms to the same general family of languages. So does the Georgian, a Turanian language still spoken in its original area in Asia Minor and Caucasia. The Egyptian and later Coptic language admit of the like illustration word for word.

It must not be supposed that Etruscans, Akkadians, and Egyptians used identically the same words, because that is contrary to the facts already cited as to the mythology. The words sometimes resemble, but more frequently differ, but then they are all referable to common sources.

The result is that the Etruscan mythological names, kingly names, town names, and words, forming together a considerable mass, are undoubtedly non-Aryan, and what is commonly known as Turanian.

This gives us the answer to the inquiry, What were the neighbours and surroundings of the early Romans? As they were Turanians, we are authorized to investigate the relations between the Turanians and the Romans, in order to ascertain what Turanian influence was exercised on the Romans, and from what period.

In this branch of examination we are called upon to recognise the fact that the names of towns within the Roman territories are as much Turanian as those of the rivers. It is a consequence that there must have been a Turanian population precedent to an Aryan population, as in Greece, Asia Minor, and Persia.

The mythology, as we have seen, is Turanian, the kingly names are Turanian, and many words in Latin are Turanian.

It is not necessary here to detail the legendary history of kingly Rome, so fully recorded by Livy, and so copiously discussed by Niebuhr and others. We have Romulus and Remus suckled by Lupa, a wolf, Numa Pompilius, and all their successors, with names familiar in every school history throughout Europe.

In the legend of Romulus and Remus we learn they were suckled by a she-wolf, that being the meaning in Latin of Lupa, as the nurse was called. Although Lupa was the name of the nurse, yet she had another name in other legends, Acca, Acca Laurentia. With this story is connected another, which explained that after all the nurse Lupa was not a she-wolf but that Lupa meant a woman of bad character.

This word Lupa was one of those experimented on by me, and I found that the word for nurse in the allied languages was Aloba, and that this is the word Lupa there can be no doubt. In the legend transmitted by the Turanians to the Aryans Aloba was used when the Turanian language of Rome was no longer understood, then Aloba received an Aryan

interpretation as Lupa, with the double meanings. That of she-wolf received most acceptance, and the wolf suckling two boys became a sacred emblem of Rome, and was repeated in every direction, in bronze statuary and on metal coins.

Romulus and Remus, if such there were, never had anything to do with a she-wolf, and this is one of those operations of verbal mythology and false interpretation by a wrong medium under which ancient legends are perverted, and have been obscured by Hebrews, Hindoos, and Greeks. Of this kind of performance, Sparrowgrass, becoming emphatically Grass, as a metamorphosis of Asparagus, however ludicrous it may sound, is a most effectual exemplification. Indeed, it may be said that in many cases oral history has been converted into myth and legend by this process. The way in which Turanian words are interpreted by learned Hebraists from the earliest times down to this day has led to most preposterous results.

Some of the mischief which has been done is irreparable, but it is to be hoped that the discovery of the true means of interpreting words may yet enable many materials for history to be recovered and restored, to as great a degree as the decipherment of hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts has been carried. The legend commonly refers to the most ancient epochs of history.

Another discordant point in legend is as to the meaning of Consualia, the festival to which the Romans invited the Sabines, and at which the rape of the Sabine women took place. In later times this was held to be the feast of the god of counsel, in reference to the good counsel by which the wifeless Romans supplied themselves. There was, however, another explanation, that the festival was dedicated to the Consus, sea-horse. On looking for the elements of such a word in the Turanian sources, we can identify *con* for sea and *so* for horse, and we are thereby justified in assigning to this the title of the preferable explanation.

What were the Lares? The verbal meaning we obtain from the same sources is that they were the fetishes of the

spirits of departed ancestors, perhaps the "Ka" of the Egyptians. To the same class belong the Lemures.

Penates are offered to us as allied to the words for house and the words for fetish, or charm, and would be explained as the house fetishes. The Lares and Penates were indeed the sacred guardians of the household, the inheritance of ancestor worship.

The Manes, when presented to the same test, are found related to the words for death. So also the gods of the dead, Manus, Mantus.

For the dead the Romans had a festival dedicated to Pluto, called Charistia, and this Turanian word for the dead is of the same stock as the Akkad word Khar (*to die*), and as Charon, of which it is one of the meanings.

Patulacius was the appellation of Janus in his capacity as a war god. Patu as a word for war has abundant representatives. Lacius may be allied to a similar word in Etruscan.

Panda, the goddess of roads, was supposed under Aryan rendering to mean opening, as opening a way, but the distinct signification of road can be assigned.

We regard the toga as distinctive of a Roman, but it is a Turanian word among those who never could have received it from the Romans. In Arcadia they had a toga which they called *tebeuna*, and for this the Turanian equivalent can be identified.

The sacred boundary of the city was the Pomœrium, for which the Turanian rendering of ditch can be found, and this is one reason for regarding the first builders of Rome as Turanians.

Damia is obscure in mythology. She was regarded as a goddess by the Romans, and her mysteries were celebrated by women. The name appears to signify god and fetish. We most likely have the same name in the Dimir of the Akkad language and in the Scythian god Temer or Tem.

In my opinion the god Atys, known in Latium as Atys, was a legendary king of the Latins, and Alladius was another king. This latter seems to be the same word as Alyattes,

king of Lydia, and may mean servant or worshipper of Atys.

Lamus (or Lausus) was king of Alba, but there was a Lamus, king of Lydia, another king of the Lestrigones, and it was a great name in Greece and Rome. It means king. Amulius is enumerated among the kings of Alba, and the word which means king is paralleled by a Meles, king of Lydia.

Attus or Ateius Nævius figures in the legends as a wonderful augur, which is equivalent to a corresponding word for medicine-man or wizard; and as this corresponds with the word for god, it is by no means impossible that it is a representative also of the god Atys.

The name of the augur's staff was lituus, and this has its representative in the word for staff, and may be related to the Carian word for staff, Tumnus.

At Rome Porus was a god of riches and plenty, for which a Turanian word for rich is ready, and the word for rich is allied to the word for king (Porus was king of India, Pyrrhus of Epirus).

Adopting a term of Roman writers, it will be well to call the old language Prisco-Latin.

Looking at the higher gods, we have for the chief the names of Jupiter and Jovis. Upon Jupiter much etymology has been bestowed, and from which there is an accord that the latter part means Pater, father, and the whole Jove—Father as Father of the Gods, which Jupiter was not, nor father of men either. The latter part of the name does not mean Father, but God, and of the same meaning is Jupiter. The meaning is possibly God of gods.

The best attribution that can be made to Jove is that it is a form of the great and most ancient god of prehistoric mythology, the one god whose name is found all over the world. Thus he remained the chief god. He was the Saba of Asia Minor and Greece, the Seb of Egypt, the Assabi of Ethiopia, the Saba of Arabia, the Siva of India, the Shiwo of Japan. In America he was the Sibu of the Bribria, the Shiwa of Mexico.

Juno can be interpreted as God or Goddess, Vulcanus as Fire King (as in Etruscan), Neptunus as Water King, Pluto as Hell, Diana as Moon, Minerva as Thought. Vertumnus answers to garden, so does Pomona; Silvanus to wood or forest.

Elicius is a title of Jupiter. This means God, and it is possible there was a god Elicius, to whom in after times the prefix of Jupiter was given. This was a common practice in what we may call classical mythology, where the epithet of a later god proved to be the Turanian name of an earlier god. Thus while the worship of Saba, Sibu, or Siva still lingered in Asia Minor and Greece, the title became Zeus. Sabazios Saba having been a great god, came to be considered synonymous with the great god Zeus, yet the worship of Saba was distinctly a serpent-worship.*

Elicius, being the god of one of the Turanian tribes settling in early Rome, but losing his identity, and being still a popular god, was in the same way annexed to Jupiter, and thus was merged in one of the twelve great gods.

Janus the Two-faced was a god of the Etruscans as well as the Latins, and is identifiable with the corresponding word for Peace.

The Consentes or Complices were gods of the Etruscans as well as of the Romans, and supposed to resemble the Penates. The word for house can be found, and the final syllable appears to mean god.

Charon, the boatman of the dead, was known to the Greeks and the Etruscans. It appears to be a piece of mythology dependent on two Turanian words of like sound, one signifying Death, the other Chest, Coffin, Cippus, or Boat. The final letter, which in the full word would be Na, is instrumental, and added to boat would mean boatman. Out of the mixed ideas resulting from the play on the words we have the boatman carrying the dead to the other world, and presumably over water.

Upon the kings of Alba and the kings of the Latins I

* See my "Siva and Serpent Worship."

will say little more, having alluded to Atys and Alladius, except to observe that Ascanius, the son of Æneas, can scarcely have been an appellation invented by the poets, as it means king, as do most of such appellations in heroic Greece, in Lydia, and elsewhere. Turnus is likewise recognisable, and Faunus.

Setting aside for the time Romulus, Remus, and Roma, we will come to Numa. This is not impossibly a differential form of Roma, but, at all events, it is one of the Turanian forms for king, and with it may be associated Numitor, king of Alba, and possibly Nimrod.

As Numa has also the meaning of book, it may be from that the literary attributes of Numa were obtained, Numa and Roma after all being only kingly names.

Numa was of the family Pomponius, or Pompilius, the former most likely being the right form, as it is related to a Turanian form for king.

Numa married Tatia, the daughter of Tatius, king of the Sabines, and of Rome with Romulus, and thereby the Romans and Sabines were united, which may represent an historical fact, for Tatius is likewise a kingly name.

The daughter of Tatius was Tatia, of Numa Pomponia, who married Tullus Hostilius, and of their daughter Tullia, and she married Tarquin the Proud. The names of the daughters of kings in the heroic times are commonly found to be allied to the Turanian roots for king. These are probably not the distinctive names, but signify only princess, lady, or infanta. As the daughters of kings were thus named from their fathers' titles, so in time the practice may have extended to other Romans. Tullia, or Tulliola, the daughter of Marcus Tullius Cicero, may be taken as an example, although late, of the form; and when it is borne in mind that Tullius itself, like many Roman family names, was of kingly reference, we can very well treat it as a type illustrating the process.

As to Ancus Martius, Ancus, like the others, simply denotes king. Martius was probably equivalent to Porsenna, or war

leader, Heretog ; with this name may be connected the town of Auxur, and Auxurius, a title of Jupiter.

Tarquinius may be derived from Tarquinii, the town, but this does not follow. There was a Tarquin, king of Etruria, and Tarquin distinctly means king. Tarquinii would mean Kingstown, but the legendary king of Rome may have been a Tarquin, as of kingly blood.

The legend of the she-wolf and of Lupa has been accounted for. It is possible that we owe the twins Romulus and Remus to this conversion of the legend of the nursing she-wolf. The names of Romulus and Remus being much alike, might well suggest the idea of their being appellations of two brothers. From two brothers to twins is a gossip's and a legendary step. Thus the wolf was provided with her two nurslings. Having two brothers and one kingdom, the disposal of one brother, was the task of an ingenious tale-teller. For anything we know, no king killed his brother, and Remus may have gone before or followed Romulus. Another and perhaps accessory cause for the production of twins in the legend was the other possible event of two conjoint kings reigning in the persons of Romulus and Tatius, king of the Sabines.

Thus as in the East we find appellations for kings applied to rulers and chiefs, and treated as distinctive names, signifying king to this day, upon this principle we may regard Romulus, Remus, Roma, to which may be added Numa, Numitor, Lamus, king of Alba. There was a Romulus, king of Alba.

Let us take—

Roma, Rema,
Numa,
Lama.

These have the look of differentiations or variations of the same word. Indeed the feast of the Lemuria was indifferently called Remuria, it being invented that Romulus founded these festivals in expiation of the death of his brother Remus, such celebrations having existed from all time before Romulus can have been known as a denomination.

For these names the equivalent can be ascertained as king,

and it is to be inferred that Roma meant Kingstown, and that the title of the first kings was Romulus, Remus, Numa, &c. Many of the names of towns in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, &c., mean Kingstown, being the permanent summer or winter quarters of the king.

Niebuhr has made some pertinent remarks on family names of the Romans, particularly such as are derived from the provinces. We have referred to the provincial name of Tullius, the great name of Lamia we have lately referred to. Julius was regarded as of equal dignity and descent. Pomponius must have been another of these. Agrippa is mentioned among the legendary kings of the Latins. This form is not found at present as king, but it is as God, and God and King are not unfrequently supplied by the same words. The distinguished family name of Herennius is responded to as king or kingly. The interpretation of Mæcenas is of the same kind, and fully justifies the Horatian line, and also the name of Cecinna, and possibly of Cinna.

Thus we are brought to the conclusion that although the patricians may be regarded as having been largely recruited from the Aryan invaders to such a degree that they communicated their own language, and superseded that of the Turanians among the patricians and the plebeians, that the patricians and equites in Rome and in the provinces must have also included Turanians, many of them of kingly stock, like such Welch and Irish families among ourselves.

While around Rome we find Turanian neighbours, this Turanian epoch is proved by facts, apart from intercourse with Etruria, which continued under the commonwealth as from the earliest date, and in kingly times.

From the facts it is clear that the legends were not invented by the poet Virgil or the historian Livy. On the importation from Greece of the Hellenic "Iliad" it was easy to interpolate Æneas and his ancestors, but the names of the kings are not Hellenic inventions, nor is the peculiar mythology. The Turanian circumstances and surroundings of the names were not k nown to Livy. By that time the Etruscan and other

Turanian schools of learning must have perished as they had done in Rome, and it is very possible that the Turanian dialect, which had been spoken in Rome, and which is here called the Prisco-Latin, had perished.

Although the Prisco-Latin had words in common with the near-lying Italian, it is also apparent that many of the words were unlike, and although using a Turanian language of the same family as the Etruscan, those who spoke one would not understand the other.

The legends are therefore oral, transmitted from one language to another, like those which we find in Greece. Where the words are preserved we can identify their classification and meaning, and where there are two meanings for words yet sounding alike we have various incidents of a legend built up.

Thus the legends are distinctive, and they yield their own teachings. They prove that the city was Turanian, and that it was governed by Turanian kings. We have a confirmation of a kingly period preceding the Commonwealth in conformity with the legends. During the kingly period alliances were formed with the neighbouring Turanian states, as Alba, the Sabines and the Etruscans, and many small states were absorbed. It was during this time the Aryans, the robbers and outlaws of the legend, were introduced, and by them the patrician and knightly orders were constituted, and the kings of Rome were enabled to carry on an aggressive policy against the weakening Turanian states.

The condition of Italy must have been like that of the Mogul empire, or any such state in its decline. The great empire of the world was broken in its head by Assyrian conquerors, and the outlying limbs were harried by Scythians, Egyptians, Hebrews, Phœnicians, Aryans, and many unknown to us. Each governor of a city acquires his independence, and according to its geographical position constituted a larger or smaller kingdom, holding the hill tribes in subjection if he were able, and if not they became independent.

Any one of these governors who could attract adventurers and mercenaries, and who was ambitious enough to do so, con-

quered his neighbours. Cases of kings dying without male heirs favoured such invasions. Thus we have the exact picture of what took place at Rome. The general composition we can ascertain ; as to details we can never be sure.

With the facts now before us the researches of Mr. Parker and others as to the early buildings of Rome will be made clear, and will yield new light. They all conform to that epoch, which must now be called Turanian, and which corresponds to the same epoch in Greece and Asia Minor.

Whether the Aryans at Rome were of one tribe or of several it is impossible from the existing Latin language or monuments to ascertain. We know, as in England, that in time tribes speaking different dialects may arrive at a homogeneous language, and in the case of Hungary, the lower or main body of adventurers displaced the Hunnic or Avar language of the leaders.

The difficulty of determination is rendered the greater by the circumstance of the Aryan Latin language having been affected by the Turanian Prisco-Latin. It is quite possible, as so many philological characteristics suggest, that the Latin and Hellenic languages may belong to the same stock, as many men of science have thought. There are, however, evident diversities, and these have been long since assigned by me to the Turanian influence in Greece and at Rome not being the same.

The mythology alone is quite sufficient to guide us on this head. When we have for the head god names so diverse in Greece, Etruria, and Rome as Zeus, Tina, and Jupiter, for the war god as Hares, Laran (Lara), and Mars, and so almost throughout, we see that the Turanian language of each region differed as much from the others as it resembled them. So far as words of culture and other words have been examined by me in Greece they present the same results, but in my opinion in Greece, as in Asia Minor and Italy, there was more than one dialect or language in the pre-Aryan epoch. These, in my view, greatly contributed to produce those effects on the Greek language which we know in the forms of the several dialects.

Under these circumstances the Greek and Latin languages

would be worked out under dissimilar methods. The common forms of grammar would indeed resemble as we see them, but many words would distinguish one from the other. There is no proof that Greek and Latin are of the same direct origin. In the country parts of Greece and the Roman provinces the Turanian languages would longest linger; the terms of agriculture, and of other arts, although of common origin, would in many instances be distinct.

The revolution and institution of the Roman commonwealth may have taken place much as represented. The kings appear all to have been of Turanian origin, because the Aryans were not strong enough to take the power into their own hands, and because the main Turanian populations required a king descended from the gods. The lust of an Asiatic potentate may have precipitated the revolution, which had been prepared by events. The time had come when the patricians, knights, and soldiery, chiefly Aryan, were strong enough to claim the mastery. To please the lower class Turanians the title of king was maintained as Rex Sacrarum for sacred purposes alone.

It may be that the revolution was as much as anything a usurpation of the Aryans. Among the plebeians, the Turanians furnishing a larger portion, the seeds were laid of those dissensions between patricians and plebeians which so long prevailed. There were differences in language and ancient traditions, and perhaps to some degree in the gods they worshipped. The plebs was under a new tyranny, employing an unknown language. It was like the early days of the Normans in England.

We may believe the early history that the partisans of the exiled dynasty sought to return, and looked for help within the city. We may believe, too, that the Aryan oligarchy was found as tyrannous and lustful as had been the kings. The greedy aristocracy in one way or another possessed itself of the public wealth, of the revenues of the priesthood, and of the spoils of conquest. There seem to have survived popular gods with humble shrines.

In time the new commonwealth became consolidated, but perhaps such intervention as that of Menenius Agrippa owed more to his high Turanian claims than to his Aryan affinities.

At a later date the Turanians had become Aryanized, and they held a place among the patricians, the knights, and the people. Then we come to an epoch like that in which the Norman part of the population in England was merged in the English, with this difference, that in Rome the popular language gave way to that of the invader.

It is in these elements of a precedent Turanianism, and of diversity of populations, that we have to seek the causes of the development of the Roman commonwealth, and the explanation of many of the events of Roman history now obscure.

These facts will account even at this early epoch for the ultimate extinction of the Romans and the Roman empire. An ethnic Roman people or Roman kingdom never existed in Italy any more than without. It rested on a Turanian basis, and more Aryan blood was introduced by the Greek settlers and the Langobard invasions than by the Romans, Rome was no more Aryan in blood than the English empire in India can be regarded as English in blood and race.

II.—The Etruscans.

In assuming for the purpose of investigation that the Etruscan is what is called a Turanian as contra-distinguished from an Aryan or Indo-European language and culture, then, we have only two neighbouring groups on the north, the Basque and the Ugrian. The Basque has furnished no results, the Ugrian only such as are uncertain. On the other shore of the Mediterranean, the Berber has been examined by a most distinguished scholar, Francis W. Newman, but without giving us the desired success.

The investigation must be carried out in a far wider field because we see by the example of the Basque how in such a great

lapse of time a language becomes isolated. When, too, we reach the regions of the Caucasus, then we come upon that great variety of languages which exercised the talents of Mithridates. Foremost among these is the Georgian, a group of high development in every respect. To that, as to others, I directed my attention, without obtaining the ultimate end, feeling assured that a step had been obtained, but that it was necessary to make still wider researches.

It may here be observed that as most persons professing philology are grammarians, the exertions of investigators have been applied to grammatical forms, under the notion that there is something really distinctive in the world of languages, in the theories of the schoolmen as to agglutinative and inflected languages. It has been thought that if a personal pronoun could be determined, or a case ending, we should infallibly settle down on the allied language.

Under exceptional circumstances alone can such a process be successful, which is only one of a secondary character. Anatomy comes before physiology rather than after it, though each throws a light on the other. The first personal pronoun of the Etruscans presents a very unfortunate type, for though it is so largely adopted in Indo-European, we know it in Akkad, and it may be said all over the world. As to the case endings supposed to be recognised in these examinations, they are no less Georgian than Indo-European.

If grammatical forms offer but a poor resource in the determination of Etruscan, the words that are available are of the scantiest odds and ends preserved by classic writers, and some supposed to be found since furnish the lists of Bötticher, Müller, Hincks, Ellis, Isaac Taylor, Deecke, and others. Of the true value of these materials we have been uncertain, but the whole extent of them is inadequate to effect the required solution by their means. Whether we are justified in eking these out by the languages alleged to be allied, the Lydian and others, was also called in question. This was a task undertaken by me, and although it yielded

fruits to me,* they were so scanty that they remained unnoticed by any one else. To me, however, they promised the means of success, because they showed that there had existed contemporaneous languages and groups of languages related among themselves, and sharing in the same modes of culture.

It was evident that a system so vast having been displaced from its supremacy in the world ages ago, it must be a work of great labour to recover and arrange the fragments. Some of these were to be sought for in America, under circumstances more favourable for their inspection, some in Africa, some among wild hill tribes of India and its regions, wherever the dispossessed representatives of vast empires had been driven or had taken refuge.

If the testimonies of a widely extended relationship became clear, no less certain was it that at least two, if not three great divisions of language and migration, and perhaps of culture, had to be accounted with introducing disturbing elements which greatly interfered with progress. The very circumstances that appeared to favour research no less embarrassed it, for there is available a mass of mythology, of facts of culture, of historical and legendary data, and of topographical names. All these circumstances, which might be ultimately in favour of success, were in their condition of confusion and of imperfect accord in themselves causes of disturbance. The facts were to be examined and determined by the whole aggregation of facts, and this without the aid of previous inquirers, but impeded by the accumulation of their errors in various ages. The mistakes of the Greeks as to barbarous persons and languages are not more serious in perverting the gaze of the student, than are the speculations of the most learned men of our own day.

To appreciate the true position of any one member, say of Etruscan, we must take into account the whole ethnological position. In this respect the various papers which are as yet published by me will be found not without use, though often

* "Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Comparative Philology and Mythology" (Trübner); and "Khita and Khita-Peruvian" (Trübner).

wanting in immediate adaptability, or not founded upon the ultimate data to be acquired. To them the student must be referred on many points which cannot be dealt with on a special occasion. The general nature of the development of languages in the prehistoric epochs, and the psychological laws which govern their formation, are described in the "Prehistoric and Protohistoric Comparative Philology and Mythology." The distribution of words of culture is illustrated in the paper on the "Names of Weapons." The foundations of the great school of protohistoric mythology are described in "Siva and Serpent Worship." The general connection of town, river, and topographical names, extending over the whole area, and distributed in each region, is so copiously established that it affords a preparation for the collection of distinct materials of language. Evidence of the intercourse between the old world and America is given in my "Khita and Khita-Peruvian" (Trübner, 1877). This is essential for our understanding of the events which preceded the advanced art and science of the Babylonians and Etruscans, as manifested in the earlier epoch of the mound-builders of America, as yet little investigated in the Old World, and by the imperfect development of culture in Mexico, Central America, and Peru.

When taken in consideration with the whole chain of argument, the facts now advanced with regard to Etruscan will no longer be found to be isolated or unsupported. If, therefore, some statements here made may have that appearance at first sight, or seem bold and rash, then let the facts in common be compared by the help of the whole body of evidence, and the evidence of the individual statements may be elucidated.

If the facts are true, and the deductions are true, they will be capable of being tested by the testimony of the experience of history rightly regarded. All the facts must be ultimately in harmony. At the same time, if some fact be presented which speaks for itself, but which is not in conformity with our present notions, and for which we cannot account, then judgment may be suspended with regard to it until we know more. Meanwhile we must accept it for its worth, real or apparent. That many

statements here advanced may be superseded may be expected, but they may be accepted as stepping-stones to the end.

The investigation of the philology of Akkad and Etruscan was to my mind closely connected with the whole question of culture in relation to that primeval epoch. At an early period of my residence in the east my attention was devoted to Georgian, because the languages of that class occupy a position which extends from Caucasia to Asia Minor. The Georgians are also physically a high race. It appeared to me necessary either to allow for the extension of the area of the Georgian at an antecedent epoch over Asia Minor, or for the fact of its being the representative of a language allied to those formerly domiciled there, in the regions of the same group.

It was in this way by an independent investigation I confirmed from the west the conclusions of Dr. Latham, Mr. Bryan Hodgson, and Mr. Edwin Norris, as to the relations of the languages of the Himalayas with those of Caucasia. Thus, in preparation for a wider generalization, I used in my papers of that time the term Caucaso-Tibetans, and affirmed the connection of the pre-Hellenic populations of Western Asia and Southern Europe.

It is not unworthy of note, that though my statements have been treated as rash innovations, in many cases they are neither innovations nor inventions of mine, but simply confirmations, reproductions, and readjustments of local or individual results obtained by eminent philologists, and which only amount to extensions of facts established, but unknown to the general body of students in their true bearing, or forgotten and unheeded by them.

Georgian promised to lead up to the expected solution. My attempts to establish it as the main language in Asia Minor did not succeed, but the other issue was affirmed. There was sufficient evidence that languages of a like stock with the Georgian extended from Babylonia to Spain, and that there were affinities of these recognisable in America.

Thus the problem to be solved being so far extended, necessarily included the questions of the mound-builders of North America and the monument building races of Central and South America. This distant task was necessary to be undertaken as a preliminary to the accomplishment of that nearer to us and more familiar. It was by means of the pre-Akkad epoch that we were to throw new light on that of the Akkadian. In this effort great difficulties had to be overcome, from the imperfection of the materials, but the publications of the United States Survey furnished to me by the accomplished director, Dr. F. V. Hayden, gave me at length better materials.

What had before been made known by me as to the connexion of the languages and mythology of Central America directly with Africa, on the testimony of the vocabularies of the late Professor Gabb, was successively confirmed in various families of North America, and particularly the Pomo and the Hidatsa. The Pomo family is known to philologists and ethnologists by the curious analogies which have been pointed out between its Gallinomero members and Chinese. This was thought to confirm the high authority of Von Humboldt, founded on the Mexican calendar, of the origin from China of American culture and language. These curious analogies stimulated various writers to reproduce Chinese accounts of supposed voyages to America.

In reality the phenomenon depends on the origin of culture in China being common with that of the ancient world in languages, in characters, and in general culture. It is not, as supposed, that the Chinese culture is so very ancient, that it is the parent of all culture, but that Chinese culture, like the Egyptian, being very ancient, it is indebted to the common stock of culture, from which it was derived. Hence the apparent resemblance between Chinese and Gallinomero, between the Chinese calendar and the Mexican.*

* The same is to be observed of the Eten of Peru, of which the alleged similarity to Chinese was pointed out by the Hon. J. Randolph Clay, late U. S. Minister to Peru.

These North American determinations pointed most decidedly to Africa, and there they were, as I found, on common terms with the Akkad. This enabled me to make a more careful comparison of the Akkad with the African, though the prospect was by no means clear. M. Lenormant and M. Sayons had undoubtedly established many incontestable examples of affinity between the Akkad and the Ugro-Tartar languages. This attribution had been absolutely resisted by Mr. Ujfalvy, on the ground that all the Akkad words could not be accounted for by Ugro-Tartar, and by myself on the facts that were stated by me, that Akkad had affinities with other languages besides Ugro-Tartar.

To compare Akkad with African was therefore of necessity to compare also to some extent the Ugro-Tartar languages. There was, however, some encouragement for me in the long-known fact of the vocalic euphony, considered a feature of the Ugro-Tartar, having been recognised in Aku (Yoruba) and Houssa. With regard also to the Kanuri dialect of Bornu, Mr. Norris, in compiling a grammar, was so much struck by it, that he compared its structure to that of the Turk dialects. Its roots he described as not subject to any modification ; its plural as formed by adding a syllable, and as having a somewhat full inflection, consisting wholly of postpositions.

What, however, affected me with less confidence in my task was the immediate relationship which had been established by me between the Houssa language and the Mundala dialect of the Kolarian.

So far as the materials were available numerous Akkad words in the vocabularies of M. Lenormant were determined by me to be assignable to African affinities, and also their Ugro-Tartar illustrations.

In this examination the Japanese was included with the like results, and afterwards the Coptic. That there were relationships between the Japanese and the Kolarian, and also with African languages, had long been known to me, but the exact position of the Japanese had never been clear.

It may have been noticed that in the " Prehistoric Compara-

tive Philology" an essay was made to illustrate the development of language by a new classification, instead of monosyllabic, agglutinative, and inflected, the imperfection of which has been recognised by some few scholars.* My endeavour was to lay down a chronological scheme of successive strata of languages, showing at the same time their distribution over the world by migration. This imperfect sketch prepares the way for what we have now to contemplate, which is the development from the prehistoric stock of an enormous body of languages, more or less allied, some of them being contemporaneous.

To speak generally, these will embrace of dead languages the dialect of Spain (Iberian), the Etruscan and others of Italy, the Pre-Hellenic, the Dacian, Thracian, Phrygian, Lydian, Carian, Canaanite, Egyptian, Akkad, some Caucasian, and Palæo-Indian languages. Of living languages there will be included Basque, Ugro-Altaic, Georgian, Circassian, Ude, and others of Caucasia, the Himalayan languages, the Kolarian the Naga, many of the Transgangetic region, and Japanese. In Africa, besides the Coptic, are the languages of western, central, and southern districts of higher culture, among which may be named, the Mandenga class, Bornu, Wolof, Houssa, and Pulo or Fulah, but including very many others. Of American languages the whole cannot be enumerated, but it will suffice to indicate as examples Pome, Hidatsa, several languages of Mexico, Maya, Quichua, and Aymara.

Extending the investigation beyond the bounds of language, the connection of the mythology of the New World and the Old had been already established by me in my discussion on Siva and Serpent Worship. The names of the African towns, on being subjected to comparison, showed an unmistakable conformity to the large body of such names, collected and classified by me for the Old World and America.

These results encouraged me to take in hand the determina-

* Some "monosyllabic" languages, as Chinese, are only artificially so, as I have ascertained that words are really dissyllables with the final vowel cut off.

tion of Etruscan, because already many of the necessary conditions were satisfied, and with this came naturally Lydian and the languages of Asia Minor. Collaterally the establishment of Etruscan illustrated the still obscurer question of Prisco-Latin.

It must not be supposed that the present state of my examination of Etruscan depends merely on linguistic methods, for it embraces the consideration of mythology, and the whole subject as attempted by Mr. Isaac Taylor. Beyond this it includes the evidence of the names of places.

When we come to the map, and look at the Etruscans of Etruria, they are placed in too small an area for us to attribute to them too much importance. If, however, we conceive them to be part of one great brotherhood of nations, and holding the same relation to cultivated nations on their east and on their west, to Spain, and to Greece, and to Asia Minor, that Italy now does, we may then believe them to have played in remote antiquity a great part. This part, that we have not allowed to the Etruscans, we have been quite content to assign to the Semitic inhabitants of a small strip of coast in Syria, or in later time to the Carthaginians.

What we have assigned to the Semitic Phœnicians of the Aryan epoch was performed by the Turanian Phœnicians and to a still greater extent by the Etruscans. They were a great maritime people, and it was they and their brethren, the Turanians of Spain, the Iberians, and not the Basques, who carried on the commerce of the Mediterranean. By them the tin and gold of Britain were explored and names given to the Islands.

With such vessels as they had at their disposal the Atlantic could be crossed, and must have been crossed between Africa and the northern and southern continents of America. In the New World we find still languages of the types of the African epoch of culture, of the same type as those of Babylonia and of Etruria.

For the causes of the decline of Iberia and Etruscan navigation and intercourse with America we have to look in the

early pages of history. We find Greece, Italy, and Spain sapped by the Aryan adventurers, and the whole commerce of the Mediterranean wasted by the pirates of Phœnicia and of Carthage. Thus the Turanians were displaced by Semitic settlements in Syria, Africa, and Spain, and by Greek settlements in Italy, Sicily, the islands, and Southern Gaul.

In inner Africa the rising and advance of the barbarous tribes closed the channels of the Niger and the Congo, hemmed in the Turanian river states, and must have put a stop to their maritime power and their Atlantic expeditions.

The relationship of the Etruscan language to that of Rome was in all times foreign. It was foreign to the Turanian or Prisco-Latin, and to the Aryan or Roman-Latin. This is well enough seen in the Etruscan and Latin mythologies. They are identical in origin, the words have the same meanings, and yet except Neptune and Minerva the words were not alike. The relationship of the Prisco-Latin was probably with the Sabine and other Turanian dialects. That these and the Prisco-Latin were long intelligible is certain, but they afforded small help to the study of the Etruscan books of superstition and of science. Thus a Roman, well acquainted with rustic Turanian, had to go through a new training to make himself literary master of Etruscan. It must rather have been the Etruscans who settled in Rome, who communicated Etruscan knowledge to the Romans.

Besides this the learned class must have died out earlier among the southern Turanian tribes, sapped by Greek and Roman Aryan influence, than among the Etruscans, where it long held its own as part of a great political system.

The influence of Etruscan learning in Rome must have been much less than on first thought we should be ready to allow. There could have been no community of history or poetry, probably little of law. It was in some moment of panic or of superstition that the great schools of augury and of magic in Etruria were consulted. Everything, indeed, conspired to bring about the lingering oblivion of the Etruscan language and learning.

With regard to the habitat in which the Etruscan people and their language are found, it must be said that the names of towns are in conformity with those of other Turano-African countries. Whether we proceed eastward to Greece, Asia Minor, Canaan, Babylonia, or India, or whether we examine modern Africa, there is a perfect conformity of town names, and the meaning of many of these we can ascertain to belong to the class.

Thus the Etruscans and Prisco-Latins are found in such a region at an early epoch, and if we can connect them with the town names, then we recover a portion of the vocabulary and an index towards its classification. This examination, as was sometimes since shown by me, does attest this attribution of Etruria to the common class, and subsequent study has confirmed the result and accumulated facts. Therefore this branch of topographical nomenclature must be accepted as part of the general case. At the same time it is to be observed that, as in the instance of mythology, many of these names belong to the family of languages in common, and not to any individual language.

Another branch which we can discover is that which concerns the mythology. At this time in the general acceptance the Etruscan mythology is supposed to be peculiar, or supposed to be of ordinary Aryan or Sanskritic composition. In fact, the Etruscan mythology appertains to the great Turano-African stock. The names of the gods, as stated with regard to Rome, are the same in meaning, and therefore of original functions, in Etruria, Rome, Greece, and Asia Minor anterior to the Aryan influence, or the introduction of Aryan verbal mythology in supersession of Turanian verbal mythology.

Under the aspect of verbal mythology we have to contemplate facts in aspects of complication. Thus in the pliable Turanian languages the name of a god or hero being susceptible of various meanings in the same language or in other dialects, a variety of legends was created on these meanings, and gods, heroes, incidents, and events were generated. Then

came the Aryan, who obtained these facts from a Turanian or translated them, and he brought about a further complication. In a much later stage, when the Turanian languages were forgotten, Aryan meanings were attributed to Turanian syllables, and Consus, the sea-horse, became the god of counsel.

In this Etruscan mythology we have the names of the gods with their meanings. We have likewise the heroic personages, regarded by all classical scholars as Greek and Homeric, and as borrowed by the Etruscans from the Greeks. Examination already discovers that many of these heroes are Turanian, with titles of Turanian interpretation. The heroic legends in their origin were common to the nations of that epoch, and in some of them we can trace the relationship to Canaan, finding Adam and Khaveh in Athamus or Cadmus and Agave, of the death of Abel, intermixed with the sacrifice of Isaac, and having under the names of Semele and Bacchus the same events as in the account of Hagar and Ishmael. The names are not unfrequently identical, as well as the incidents.

Whatever may be the ultimate determination of the Homeric problem, as presented to us under its various Greek aspects with contradictory legends, yet as in the origin, as already said, the basis is Turanian, so it may be we may get new light as to the legends themselves, as to the Homerides, and as to the relation of the several tales to the localities in the Troad to which they have been attributed.

Scarcely less interest in our enumeration need we attribute to the kingly names. The names of the kings of Etruria, Rome, Greece, Lydia, and Asia Minor, which are commonly accepted as personal designations, are in Africa at this day found to be used as kingly titles. They teach by a great mass of facts the one lesson which all these facts teach, of a uniformity of system among these nations, worked out in a great variety of detail, &c.

Just as each tribe had its own word for man, which was its distinctive, and not unfrequently adopted for the tribal name, so does each tribe seem to have had its own word for its king

or chief. The origin and relation of these words are yet to be worked out. Some mean a hand, some a head, some few father. There are examples of their being the same word as god, but this was in the sense of their representing the place of the great central spirit, though afterwards it gave colour to that form of legend which we find among all these tribes of the descent of the kingly race from the chief god. This we have fully developed in India, in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Rome, and in early epochs among our own fathers, when they yet retained these Turanian inspirations and institutions. It was not casually or independently that the kings of the English are made in the Saxon Chronicle to be descendants of Weden, as the heroes of Homer, of Zeus, or Ares. It is no more a chance than that the names and forms of the English mythology can yet be traced to a Turanian original, and of this type appear to be even the tribal names, as will be hereafter seen.

The attributes of the Turanian kings and of their Aryan successors and imitators grew with time. In the earlier periods —and we find this sufficiently illustrated in the Homeric poems, and by later examples in Africa and North America, the king and the doctor or medicine m an is calledby analogous titles. Thus, too, in the Homeric poems the man of learning is made, as well as the king, the offspring of a god, though of Apollo instead of Ares. (See also Section III.)

Thus in time the imperfect and obscure mythological and heroic legends will give both materials for language, and further elements for the comparative philology of the several dialects.

In some cases the applicability of our stores will not be in proportion to their extent, for when we hāve a score words they mean only god, another fifty king, a great number lares. This is not, however, always so, for we find some game, feast, or sacrifice, named after an object, the word for which is the equivalent. Still, although our linguistic repertory is very little increased by an abundance of words of one meaning, our power of critical appreciation is augmented.

The titles given to the Hellenic gods are occasionally found to be Turanian, though the majority are Greek.

It has been stated by me that many words in Latin supposed to be Aryan are in reality Turanian, as the word Toga, for instance. Thus, as I some time since pointed out, we may expect to find in Latin some survivals. My idea was that these would be chiefly Etruscan, but now that the examples given by me show the Turanian element to be Prisco-Latin, and not Etruscan, we must limit our expectations of Etruscan words to be recovered from Latin. Still there was a community between Etruscan and Prisco-Latin, and of this latter language we may hope for a restoration of some extent. Of this I have laid the foundation, and reproduced the elements of this language. How far it was allied to Sabine or other dialects we have still to glean.

There is a branch of investigation yet to be pursued. It is acknowledged that in Greek and in Latin many words of culture are distinct. These have been supposed to be Aryan, but they are mainly Turanian, and as laid down by me it is these words which will throw light on their preceding Turanian languages.

With regard to Etruscan, it is impossible for me as yet to define the exact African languages with which it is in greatest affinity, because we are only in the infancy of our collection of materials. It may, too, happen, as has occurred to me in such cases, that some part of the vocabulary may show a greater connection with one group, the animal names with another, while verbs or adjectives may show a distinct preference.

If this is the case with regard to the African affinities, the difficulties are still greater at present as to the other languages, therefore at this stage it is only possible to lay down the groundwork for the labours of others.

As the decipherer proceeds with the inscriptions, so will our means of determination become more precise, and it appears quite possible that we may yet find three or four African or other languages which may represent the survival

from the older stock on which the Etruscan was formed. So, too, as our knowledge of Etruscan grows will our knowledge of Prisco-Latin increase, and new elements be afforded for the comparative philology of the Latin language. This will be a new field of exertion for classical scholars. Those grammatical resemblances with Sanskrit or Slavonian, which are so striking, as well as the dissimilarities equally remarkable, may be made clear by the Turanian variations.

So far from researches in Turano-African being inimical to Indo-European comparative grammar, they will give precision to it; while the example of what has been done for that branch may stimulate equal efforts for the establishment of Turano-African grammar. Thus a new era will be marked for Akkad grammar, and fresh light will be shed on the grammar of all those remarkable languages connected with the Turano-African stock. Japanese is one of those which must greatly profit and which will be relieved from its category of solitude.

Although it may sometimes happen from some circumstance or another that the illustration of an Etruscan word may prove scanty, yet in many cases the paucity of the examples is relieved and supplied either by a striking coincidence, or by the example being found in a locality of recognisable affinity.

Thus Tarkhon or Tarquin is only elucidated by Darkuan; the word for King is Kanyop, but it is in the midst of a favourable group. In the case of Morrius as a kingly name we have not yet recovered morro or morrio, but we have the root well established in Africa in several forms, as wuro, buro, motl, poro, showing a clear conformity. It has not, therefore, appeared to me expedient at present to reject any testimony of comparison, although remote or imperfect in distinctness. The evidence is occasionally enhanced by wideness of distribution. The form of Æolus, king of Etruria, is poorly represented in Africa, but we have an Æolus, king of Sparta, besides the king of the winds.

Lucumo is indistinct in Africa, but then one form, Ankama,

is near neighbour to Darkuan just described, the correlative of Tarkhon and Tarquin. If we treat Porsenna as a war-head, then we have Porsa well represented by Burseka in Pepel, besides other words, and we are tempted to annex Perseus.

It has been suggested that Atrus (Atro) may signify morrow, and certain it is that we get Odero, Tara, Okera, and many other African forms, not forgetting the Ataruk of the Hidatsa of the United States. Such words as to-day, yesterday, to-morrow, are not beyond the bounds of reasonable determination, because, improbable as it might appear at first sight, these are words in which identities are to be ascertained in remote languages.

Indeed, there are few words of culture beyond the power of natural comparison under proper conditions. True it is we might fail in finding the counterpart of the Prisco-Latin Toga as a coat, but then the psychological equivalent of coat is skin, as may naturally be conceived, and by referring to the equivalents we obtain more copious and not less safe illustrations.*

This may be all seen in Tular (tulara) the term held to mean cippus, that is box or chest. Box or chest in Africa is a word derived from calabash, and for this we have Talara in Kisi and many conformable words.

Suthi, a word found on sepulchral inscriptions, is translated as Tomb. In such applications it would be derived from the words for die and funeral, giving us Suadon, Bambarra, funeral, and Sata, Mandenga, die. Although Soua in Carian is tomb, it is quite possible that the Etruscan may signify funeral or funeral obsequies. The attribution to the circumstances of death is, nevertheless, well supported by this collateral evidence.

Balteus (Balteo), a belt or girdle, is illustrated in African not only by belt, but by waistcloth, which is more widely distributed.

For such an adjective as Nepos, luxurious, we might despair of finding an exact representative, but then the adjective Rich is well represented in the prehistoric series, and this

* See the table of equivalents in my "Prehistoric Comparative Philology."

gives us Nab, Nabire in Guresa, Nababad in Fulup, and others.

With regard to the word for horse, Damnus, it is one of those on which Ugrian affinities for Etruscan have been chiefly founded. There are corresponding words for it in Fin and Lapp. It is, however, also well marked in the Doma of Barba and other languages. It is, moreover, to be recognised in Basque and Kolarian. The meaning is most likely not horse, but mare.

Another name for horse is, however, Pecse, and this has been likewise matter of comment as representing the Pegasus of mythology. Pegasus itself, however, is only a word for horse, illustrated by another set of African roots.

There are some curious features in Subulo, a piper or pipe. We find it in the root for Throat, abulo in Timne, debolu in Murundu. We have, however, the word Subulo in the equivalent for the sonorous mosquito, Sabula in Houssa, Sawulo in Kandin, &c. Thus the word is better preserved in the name of the piping insect than in other forms. In Bornu, however, the word Subolo is the moon. Further, the words for moon and throat in many African languages are alike—why is beyond my explanation, unless the word for throat is an equivalent of mouth, which is allied to moon, the throat being treated as a continuation of the mouth.

With regard to the mythology it is a general law of prehistoric philology that day may be the equivalent of God. Thus we not only have Sibu represented by day, but Nebo (in the Akkad Nab; Okuloma, Eneba; Penin, Napoch, &c.); and the great Babylonian goddess Nana (Baghrmi, Nanana). So too Baal (Kisi, Palalen; Bulom, Ipal; Mampa, Yipal; Mano De-Gbela). The Yahaya of Koama is a peculiar word. The Midas of Asia we find in Ngoten, Mote, &c. Uranos is represented by Kambali Urana, and Chronos by the Timbuktu Dshari-Korone. Why these figure as ancient gods in the cosmogonies of Hesiod and the early mythologists is explained, and Chronos can only secondarily have signified time, and that perhaps in reference to the connection of this class of gods,

and the seventh planet with its wonderful form, and with the seventh day.

The Aisoi of the Etruscans, the As of the English and Norse is as well represented by words for day as by those for God. So Aku, Oso ; Alege, Eshui ; Nki, Esho, &c. In this connexion of Germanic and Etruscan mythology will it be permitted to us to find Woden, Weden, or Odin? It is, for we have the Pangela, Wotanya, and Otanya ; the Bijogo, Wodoan ; the Meto, Otona ; and Matatan, Otona. This must be also Buddha.

A part of this root must furnish the Tina, the Zeus of the Etruscans, for we have it not only in the Otona and Odin just cited, but in Baga, Dian ; Bornu, Dunia ; Pika, Dhono, &c.

The question now arises, how far does this present any conformity with the fashionable school of Aryan mythology? The words for day and for Zeus are found extensively in Dian, now quoted, in the Gio, Deadie ; Kiamba, Edao ; Landoma, Dayan ; Basa, Zozoei, &c.

The true explanation of the case in Turanian and Aryan mythology follows from the facts. There is no sole dependence on the phenomena of the sky and the weather. That is secondary and posterior. True it is day is related to light and to sky or heaven, but as we have seen in the explanation of the original mythology, as preserved for us in Central America and Africa, the day, light, the sun, are not the Deity. They are only emblems and symbols of Him, names of Him, as fire, the tree, the serpent, the forms of regeneration, the members of the body—everything, in fact, in nature.

The loss of the Turanian interpretation and the introduction of an Aryan language led the Greek mythologists to apply the same word for Zeus, for Chronos, for Uranos, and to genealogize with these materials ; and this is a sufficient exemplification of what took place with other Aryan schools of mythology. In Turanian mythology we can recognise sects, the worship of fire in Baal and Moloch, the purer worship of light by the Persians, and the restoration of the worship of Buddha. While the priests created new or more gods, the ancient doctrine of one God remained among the

people, preserved in mysteries in which it played the chief part, ever and anon reproduced as a revival in religion, and in that we find the leading elucidation in the history of Buddhism The history of the Vedas is to be interpreted by this light.

To many all this must appear a wonderful romance of chance, from which belief should be withheld. It is indeed a romance most luckily fitting into facts. On careful examination, however, we find that it is not by making excursions in every page of every dictionary, as has been done by some accredited interpreters, that we obtain the results, but even from one term for Day, and the languages in which the illustrations on this head occur are those which are most allied to Akkad, to Etruscan, to Lydian, and their kindred tongues.

The American affinities are well defined for Etruscan, Lydian, and Carian, and with regard to the calendar of months several of the Pomo numerals are identical.

In comparing Etruscan with the African types we may expect those dialectal variations, which Grimm's law is supposed to characterize. This is so, but in many cases we get very close correspondences, of which a few are here given :—

Cassis, helmet.	Okuosu, Egbira.
Tarkhon, king.	Darkuan, Kanyop.
	Hoale, Kambali.
Æolo, king.	Olu, Aku.
Porsa, war.	Purseka, Pepel.
Bianor, king.	Mbuan, Diwala.
Kharu, boat.	Kuro, Mutsaya.
Kharun „	Keren, Gbese.
Kupra, new moon.	Kibulia, Guresa.
Lalan (a) Mars, war.	Lalona, Bagbalan.
Damno, horse.	Doma, Barba.
Pecse, horse.	Pueshu, Pulo.
„ „	Budokoa, Basa.
Kela, vault.	Kalo, Bambarra.
Tular, box.	Talaran, Kisi.
Nano, rogue.	Nanossa, Bambarra.
Avil, age.	Yawale, Marawi.

Tura, love.	Turu, Kono.
Bagoe, thunder.	Abikuli, Bambarra.
Summano, lightning.	Sumane, Ashantee.
	Sanaman, Fanti.
Anta, wind.	Hindu, Pulo.
Februum, hell.	Evura, Igala.

Whatever may be the nature of the differences between dialect and dialect, supposed to be explained by Grimm's law, or attributed to degeneracy from some original type, it may be observed that, as well in the Turano-African as in other families the like dialectal differences, are to be observed in ancient and modern languages of the family.

Thus these dialectal differences are not modern, as is often assumed, nor the result of gradual degeneracy, but of ancient existence, and the degeneracy, if any, must have existed three thousand years ago or more.

To exhibit the mode in which some African languages conform to Etruscan, examples may be taken from Mandengo and its allies, Bambarra and Soso.

	ETRUSCAN.	MANDENGA, &C.
Boy	puii	pu
King	mezentius	ke-masa
Boat	kharu(n)	kulun
		kuluno
War	lara	kere
	lala	kele
I, me	mi	mara
Goat	kapra	bakoron
Vault	kela	kolo
Tomb	suthi	suadon
Daughter	sek	sungudun
Swift	keler	atalia
Black	thapiri	aforo
Belt	balteo	bila
Sword	lana	fano
Rogue	nano	nanossa

	Etruscan.	Mandenga, &c.
Fountain	etule	kolo
Waggon	tensa	tanae
Old	avil	afoari
Love	tura	kaure
Make	kana	ke
Moon	lala	leur
Lightning	summano	samfotting
Thunder	bagoe	abikuli
Wind	anda	fonio

These are not given to show that the Mandenga is the nearest language, but to show that in one language above a quarter of the Etruscan words are represented with no material dialectal differences.

It will be for the scholar to determine how far the aspiration of Niebuhr has now been satisfied. Speaking in hopelessness of the obscurity of Etruscan, he says ("History of Rome," vol. i., p. 438), "Unless the most brilliant discovery of our days, the explanation of the hieroglyphics, should be followed by what there is much less ground to hope for, that of the Etruscan language." Yet, step by step, the interpretation of the hieroglyphics has brought us to this stage. A bilingual inscription gave the key to cuneiform. Cuneiform Assyrian has made known Akkad. It is Akkad which prepares the way for the Turanian philology and its epoch, and it is by its aid and that of Coptic that we estimate the Etruscan and other languages lost in the long past.

III. Origins of Hellenic Mythology and Culture.

Clearly to comprehend the problems of Roman early history it is necessary to study those of Hellas, in which the traces of Turanianism are no longer recognised in the popular conception. The Hellenes are in the eyes of many the first and most exclusive of Aryans, and with them the modern votaries of Sanskritism contend for pre-eminence.

In Greece, however, there was the same Turanian precedence as in Italy. The names of the cities (see Tables in "Khita-Peruvian") sufficiently show this. The mythology, as here illustrated in the first section, shows the same origin. So far from the Etruscans being under the spell of Hellenic mythology as supposed, they drew from their common stock.

The mythic and heroic ages of Hellas were in community with those of Western Asia. Into the whole subject it is impossible here to enter, but it must be repeated that the Proto-Hellenic, the Thracian, and the Dacian languages were of the same classification as the Phrygian, Lydian, Carian—that is, Turano-African.

The names of the gods are explained by the same etymologies as those of Rome and Etruria, and of the Edda.

The names of the kings of Hellas follow the same law, and like those of Italy, Phrygia, Lydia, &c., signify King in the corresponding languages. Among these names are Rhadamanthus, Cadmus, Codrus, Butes, Tymenos, Cocalus, Athamas, Æolus, Agenor, Peleus, Pyrrhus, Œbalus, Acamas, Ulysses, Odusseus, Ogyges.

The medicine man, Machaon or Acesius, finds a corresponding interpretation.

In looking at the attributes of mythology, the Petasus is accounted for by hat; the Caduceus by serpent-stick; Bætulia, the thunderstone, by thunder; Briza, the goddess of dreams or sleep, by sleep.

Charisia, a festival at which honey cakes were distributed, is met with in the word for honey. Surmaia, Spartan games, at which honey was given, have a corresponding word for honey. Pyrrha, the wife of Deukalion, meant a boat.

In other words, Coryphæus corresponds to young; Ardalus, the inventor of the pipe, to pipe; Tebenna, the Arcadian toga, has that meaning.

IV. Turanian Influence in Anglo-Saxon and Norse Mythology.

The points of contact of the Etruscan mythology with other departments of mythology are very striking—more so, for instance, than Assyrian or Egyptian. Thus Etruscan affinities with Greek and Roman are considered natural, and so with other classes of Aryan mythology. Mr. Isaac Taylor has found examples of resemblance with Ugrian types. So some years ago the twelve gods and the names of the Aisoi were recognised as presenting instances of community with the mythology of Scandinavia, England, and Germania. Hence a Germanic origin or connection was proposed for Etruscan, but in truth the case is that the Ase, Weden, or Odin, Thur and Iduna are to be identified in Africa, and Etruscan is no more to be derived from Germanic than Germanic from Etruscan, but a common derivation is to be assigned.

Before proceeding to consider the details resulting from this common relationship, it is desirable to call attention to the necessary consequence in the influence it must have in the investigation of early English or Anglo-Saxon history, just in the same way that the primary Turanian influence affected a people now recognised as Aryan, and whom we knew as Romans, whereby we obtain an explanation of the phenomena of the traditionary epochs, so it is possible we may obtain an explanation of that unknown period of English history before the first mention of "Angli et Varini" by the Romans, into which, on account of its utter darkness, no one has dared to look.

The utmost audacity of the most ambitious inquirer has only led to speculations as to the common stock of the Germanic populations, including in this vague way the Angli and other Suevi, together with populations that differ from them. The differences, for instance, between the English and the High Dutch are very great. Chance suggestions as to names of tribes in Asia, and shadowy traditions as to the migrations

from the East, are all that we have got as yet. We treat the English and other Germanic nations as Indo-European on the ground of their complexions and their languages. The Germanic nations undoubtedly differ much in appearance from the Eastern Aryans, Persians, and others.

Prejudice is opposed to the idea of any Turanian theory affecting ourselves, and the difficulties in the way of applying any such theory are at first sight insuperable. There are, however, phenomena which require examination, and to which this theory should be applied.

First, there is the mythological theory of a relationship of the gods of Asgard and Wallhall with those of Etruria. It must not be kept out of sight that, according to Mr. Isaac Taylor's observations—and they are right in the main, though not always in their application,—there were points of contrast of Etruscan mythology with the various forms of Turanian mythology. These illustrations will apply to Norse mythology under the same conditions.

Without pushing the mythology further, English grammar presents many points of resemblance to Turanian (see my remarks, "The Early English," p. 267). Thus if an Englishman learns Turkish, for instance, he will find many of these examples which will strike him. If, however, he looks at any classical Anglo-Saxon grammar, or examines any standard philological treatise, he will at once abandon his notions and consign them to the jurisdiction of chance, until he looks carefully again.

As to physical aspect, the English have in many ages been known for features of beauty which mark them among the nations of Europe, and are to our minds totally alien from any Turanian character, by which we understand flat faces and swinish eyes. Let us mark first that the English differ greatly from other Europeans, even from the High Dutch, many of whom have those Ugrian characters which are allowed to be Turanian. Let us next mark that all Turanians are not of these types, and that the Georgians, Circassians, and others of the Caucasus, Turanians in language and ethno-

logical history, are recognised whites, possessing titles to beauty.

As regards culture, there are many institutions of our early tribes, which are shared with Turanians, and so too with our folklore.

Turning back to the mythology, there is nothing really repugnant, aforethought or in facts, to a common origin of religion. When once we dismiss from our minds the now tottering doctrine that the religion of Greece and Rome is derived from the Sanskrit, and relates solely to the weather and meteorological phenomena, then we are compelled to see and to acknowledge this common origin. Then we see twelve gods in Greece, in Rome, in Etruria, in the North. The functions of the English gods are the same as those of the others, and practically the names are the same, because they are identical in meaning. The point is, however, that these meanings are not to be found in English, but in the great Turanian group.

Beginning with As, Ase, the name of the gods, and from which Asgard, their abode, was entitled, we find the following :

Aisoi, Æsar, Etruscan.
Ese, Whydah, &c., Africa, god.
Ezo, Kiamba „ „
Esho, Legba „ „
„ Koure „ „
Osu, Egbira „ „
Osi, Koro „ „

In this, as in the other cases, the illustrations are not taken from straggling languages, but lie closely together.

For Weden, Woden, Wuotan, or Odin, we have—

Wate, Bola, Africa, god.
Gbati „ „
Bate, Kanyop „
Hobatura, Mampa „
Wuana, Guresa „
Oti, Koro „
Buddha, India.

To Buddha the same Turanian beginning is to be assigned. It will be noted that as we have Weden in English and Odin in Norse, so we have in African Wate and Oti, on the same dialectal grounds.*

Still keeping to the same linguistic districts as those in which As and Weden are found, we come upon the forms for Thur or Thor, under the meaning of war :—

Tore, Tene, Africa.
Otera, Fulup ,,
Tugure, Guresa ,,
Tegura, Yula ,,

This is the same root as the Greek Hares or Ares, Laran of the Etruscans, and the Roman Mars.

Looking for Iduna, the goddess of love and youth, under the word for Love, we get—

Tuono, Mbamba, Africa.
Tondi, Diwala ,,
Tonda, Orungu ,,
Duanyor, Yula ,,
Adara, Okam ,,
Turu, Kono ,,
Turana, Etruscan.

There is a root which is common to the meanings of love and youth, thus :—

Duna, Kasm, Africa.
Ndan, Wolof ,,
Juna, Mandenga ,,
Ohunu, Aro ,,

This root also supplies many of the words for girl. Thus the goddess of love is in most mythologies a young woman, who is the goddess of youth. It will be noticed that Venus, Veneris, has something of the look of Iduna and Turana, and also of the Nana of the Babylonians. Indeed the same

* In truth, Gbati is an equivalent of the Phrygian Bagaios, that is of the Baga of Persia, the Boga of the Slavonians, and Obagorowo of Akarakura of Africa.

source of roots supplies those, as also Aphrodite, Hebe, Agave, Khaveh, and Kali, and apparently Astarte. As the words ramify as nerves do, complex relations are established, which become apparently dissimilar.

These roots also apply to day, and bring back words to another mythological centre.

In the examples that have here been given it will be seen that we have in the identical places—

Weden,	Wuana, Guresa.
Thur,	Tugure „
„	Tegura, Yula.
Iduna,	Duanyor „
As,	Osi, Koro.
Odin,	Oti „

If we compare Anglo-Saxon with Aryan languages of like epoch, then there is a conformity of law, but if we compare English with ancient Greek there are many points of divergence, variously accounted for. What is supposed to be characteristically Turanian is not necessarily so; a post position instead of a preposition is an example. There are postpositions in Latin as there are in English. The use of a plural numeral with a singular noun is considered to be Turanian, but it is a general law of philology, and is applied in common English, as well as the distributive: we say head of cattle, sail of shipping, &c.; and people say ten sail of the line, &c., he is six foot high. The collective (as in -ing) is thoroughly English. The real configuration of an English verb is very Turkish. I am striking, I was writing, I am being struck, &c. Many of the forms that are not recorded by the grammarians, but used by the poets, and supposed to be dependent on poetic licence, are in common use in English and Turkish. In many cases the only difference between Turkish and English is that the words of the phrase which run together in spoken Turkish or English, are in Turkish writing put together, and in English writing put separately.*

* Mr. Henry B. Wheatley's Dictionary of Reduplicated Words, that is iterative words, is thoroughly Turkish and Turanian in its form and spirit.

In a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1872, pp. 1162, on "Odinic Songs in Shetland," Mr. Karl Blind illustrates many points in Turanian relative to the mythology of the worshipper of Weden. He likewise gives a very curious charm saw against sprains, mentioned by Cato de Rustica, 160, and of which Pliny also speaks. A passage of it is—

Huat haut,
Ista sis,
Tar sis.

This I should read—

Huat haut,
Istasis tarsis.

To me it appears the first line reads—

Bone and bone ;

and the second—

Blood and blood,

as in the Scotch charm and the Finnish charm for sprains.

To my mind the whole passage in Cato is an illustration of the common prosody in Anglo-Saxon and English derived from the Turanian school.*

What is called the vocalic law, or law of euphony, in Turkish and other Ugrian languages, and in allied Turanian languages of Africa, is in my present opinion at the bottom of the rhyme law of the English and Norse poets, and the real dominating influence in English poetry and the tone prosody to this day having been handed down by the priests in mysteries and in poems.

We must now go a step further before searching for the possible causes of such resemblances and such connections.

Last year I read before the Royal Historical Society a paper on my researches in Anglo-Saxon history under the

* The principles of descent of English prosody from the ancient head rhyme or staff rhyme, which I demonstrated so far back as 1851, are now being cited by the German writers in their discussions on this subject.

name of "The Earliest English" (Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 1878, pp. 253, 255, 256, 261). In that treatise I particularly dwelt on the value and persistence of tribal names (as in my "Prehistoric Comparative Philology and Mythology). In dealing with the Waring English, or Varini, I referred to the curious circumstance that Varni is a name for a Bactrian tribe (Bender, "Die Deutschen Ortsnamen," Siegen, 1846, p. 7). At the same time I by no means wished it to be understood that the Varni of Bactria were necessarily forefathers of the Varini.

The fact is that the name of a tribe may be preserved and applied to people of very different race. Thus a Lowlander, who is English, may be called a Scot, the latter being a name given to Celts. The name of a black tribe may become the name of a white one, and so the other way. If my view is right, Achaian, or Akhaioi, which had become a name for Aryan Greeks, was the same word as that applied to the Akhaioi or Abkhass of the Caucasus, to the Agau of the Nile region, and to various tribes of South America speaking allied languages.

If, however, we go a step further we reach something that we may lay hold of. It is well known that the word for Man in a language in many cases constitutes the tribe name. Kami, Kumi, Mru, Ho, Kuri, of India, and many others are ready examples of this. It is not, as supposed, that one common word is to be found for Man, but that separate or differentiated words are used by tribes for distinction.

In applying this principle of etymology to Germanic tribal names, such a word for Man can be adapted from the African and Indian sources available to Rugii, Vandali, Saxones, Varini, Carini (given by me as a name for the English, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, pp. 254, 255), Curiones, Angli, Batavii, Nuithones, Hunni (of Beda, v. 9, or Hunsing Frisians), Allemanni, Osii. The equivalents for Rugii, Vandali, Hunni, and Osii are found in the same neighbourhood. A well-known explanation is commonly given to Allemanni, because it is supposed Man is essentially a Germanic word,

which is an error. Not only is it found in Aryan, but in Kolarian, Tamil, Kiranti, and other Himalayan languages, and in Udom and Ekamtulufu of Africa. Now both Alla and Mane are found in Kolarian and in Tamil alongside in India as words for Man.

My opinion is that we must accept a Turanian origin for the tribe names. We have—

Saxones	Seke, Baseke ; Asag, Yasgua
Rugii, Rugini	Iruguni, Baga
Vandali	Wanduni, Timne
Batavii	Betuboi, Basa.

The etymology is more conformable than that of the wild etymologies that have been drawn out from all kinds of sources.

The Rev. Isaac Taylor is now publishing a book offering a new origin for the Runes, or old English and Norse writing, to which no satisfactory explanation has been applied. He is inclined to look for the origin among the Thracians. These he looks upon as Aryans in language and descent.

Upon this I will remark that the remains of the Thracian show that it was, as the ancients affirmed, allied to the Phrygian, and both of these under my investigation prove to be Turano-African. Old legends treat the course of the migration of the Suevians and Germanic tribes as being by or near the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Then there is to be noted the alliance of these tribes in their invasion of the Roman Empire with the Turanian Alans.

The Dacian language, according to the evidence preserved, is another belonging to the Turano-African stock. The mythology of the Thracians is of the same class. Thus it appears reasonable to allow for the contact of the Suevians with the Turanians in Caucasia on their westward way, whether from Bactria or elsewhere, and thence along the shores of the Black and North Seas. Their connection would not be directly linguistic or ethnic, but founded on a community

of religious systems, such as that, for instance, between the Romans and the Etruscans, and afterwards between the Romans and the Greeks.

The ethnic influence may also have been obtained by the incorporation of Caucasian allies, and by marriage with the daughters of Turanian chiefs. This would be one means of affecting the idiom.

The intercourse here referred to will account for what we afterwards find in the regular passage of the Warings and Rugians to Slavonia, the Black Sea, and the Caspian ("The Early English," p. 260). In 839 they are met with returning from Constantinople through France ("Annales Bertiniani," A.D. 839; and "Luitprand," Book V., chap. vi.). Nestor, in his Chronicle, describes this as a well-known way for the Warings (A.D. 859). Thus, according to the Arab writer Ibn Fozlan (quoted p. 280), they made a descent on Georgia and Persian Azerbijan by means of a fleet on the Caspian. Abulfeda gives like testimony. At an early period, according to Massoodi (quoted p. 287), they were in alliance with the great Khan of Khozar Turkomans.

Community of religion has much favoured intercourse among the followers of the old faith, as it does now among the followers of Islam of all hues and languages, and among the Christians. As to the date of Turanian influence generally, it is within the limits of possibility that it dates from the earliest time, and not from casual contact. In our present researches we find a small body of Aryan warriors absorbing a large body of Turanian Latins. The formation of migratory and warlike expeditions by a few Aryan warriors, leading Turanian tribes, is as efficient a development of the Germani as could be desired to explain what we see in the Roman and after Roman times.

When these tribes had got into Germania they had Aryan tribes to their westward and southward, and had the Turanians chiefly behind them. With the Lapps they had no sympathy, and it does not appear they readily intermarried with Fins and Slavs. Indeed, the Ugrians behind them were being

transformed into Slavs, and a borderland was being created which shut off the Germani.

We have now got to trace the influence of religion in this revolution. The mythology of the English, Suevians, and Scandinavians, like that of all the others, was in its foundation fetishism, which symbolized all natural objects and powers and in degeneracy allowed the worship and impersonation of these. Its ultimate and cardinal principle was the unity of one Supreme Being, called by our forefathers "All Father." Before him the twelve gods of Wallhall and all other gods were as nought, and in the Eddaic system the death and fall of the gods was foretold. The unity of nature in the Supreme Being was the final doctrine taught in all the classic as well as in the northern mysteries.

So long as the contact was with those holding the Greek mythology or the Roman, the Germani were little influenced in any religious sense, but there were so many points of affinity. The introduction of Christianity completely altered the whole of these relations between nation and nation. The Roman had found Mars and Mercury and Venus in Germany, and was ready to accept the local gods as representatives and kindred of these. In the end, whatever latitude the Christian missionaries allowed to the worshippers of Weden, deliberate antagonism was established, with the domination of a new discipline, enforced by a foreign head and by ascetic ministers. The Roman and the German priest could exchange temples and altars; not so the Norse priest and the Christian priest.

The ultimate victory of the Christian missionaries over the English was, as we have said, a revolution. The new religion in feasts and in words assimilated to old ideas, but it turned the whole current of association of the English from the East to the countries and people of Western Europe.

* This is particularly seen in recent observations of Professor Rhys as to the god Nodam of Roman inscriptions, whom he treats as a Turanian god of the Welsh and Irish, which I have confirmed by the collateral evidence cited here. This fact also supports my statement of the Turanian occupation of Britain and Ireland.

As has been pointed out in "The Early English" the followers of Weden made common cause with the followers of Thur in the Danish invasion of Britain and in contests against the Christians. In time the stronghold of the worship of Weden was confined to Jutland, and was overshadowed by that of Thur in Norway. Thus votaries of the old mythology turned back to their eastern associations. That union of Ugrians and Slavs under the Warings and Russians, which ended in the foundation of the Russian empire, was again favoured by community of religious belief.

A great light is reflected on these events by the consequences of the introduction of Christianity under Waldemar or Wladimir into Russia. This broke up the remnant of the Warings there, and they went south to enlist in their Waranghian Guard of the Emperors of Byzantium, or engaged in the service of the Turkoman Khans.

Thus we get a new chapter in the history of religious influence, and an early chapter for the history of the English and their kindred.

V. Origin of the White Turanians.

In order to explain the position of the Prisco-Latins or Prisco-Romans, we must turn back to what has been said of the relations of the family of languages to which the Etruscan belongs. It need not, however, be supposed that the words so closely resembled each other as in the Semitic family, or in the Indo-European family of languages. These are smaller groups, in which the prehistoric words are more closely selected and determined.

In the great family allied to the Etruscan and Prisco-Latin this is not so. However closely some members may range together, the words are selected from a much larger stock, and are more loosely distributed.

It will be observed that the languages enumerated are or have been spoken by men of all shades, black, brown (red)

and white; but it is most likely that where spoken by black races it is in consequence of the extinction or supersession of the ruling race of lighter colour.

Thus language is no test of race, but notwithstanding that, it is desirable to consider the relations of race of the Prisco-Latins and Etruscans. Had they been black, or of inferior type to the Aryans, legend would have accounted for it; and we must therefore conclude that the Turanians of Rome were a white race, as the Lydians and others of their kin were.

So must have been the ruling Akkadians of Babylonia, but as they were contemporaneous in language, and the Turanian languages of Italy were not descended from that of Babylonia, we are justified in inferring that the Italian Turanians were not descended or derived from those of Babylonia, in whatever degree related.

The especial relations of the languages and mythology of Turanian Italy were with those of populations now to be found, as said, in Africa. Among these may be recorded names more or less familiar of the people of Mandenga, Whydah, Bornu, Wolof, Ashantee, Timbuktu, Baghrmi, Pulo or Fulah.

If the contemporary populations of Europe and Asia of the same family of languages were white, so must have been those of Africa. In consequence of the strain on this white conquering population for its northern settlements, their older kingdoms in their weakness must have fallen before the preponderating brown and black races, as their empire in Asia and Europe did in presence of the Semitic and Aryan invasions.

Whence this white race came will be a question to be determined. Whether, like the Aryans, from High Asia, or whether from High Africa in the lake regions, may be hereafter ascertained. There are, however, good grounds for establishing two great branches of the whites, the western or true Aryans, and the eastern whites, called Aryans, whose features in the Persians, Armenians, and others are so dissimilar to ours, and which so much resemble the Jews, Arabs, and other Semites.

It is to these, and not to our own populations, that the Etruscans and Prisco-Romans must be referred.

While the Turanian languages perished in Southern Europe and Asia, with the unimportant exception of the Basque and the Ugrian, and the Georgian frontiers were forced back on the north, in the south the Turanian languages remained, and held the vantage of higher culture, the Arabs not penetrating in mass beyond the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and the Aryans being confined to the south, having appeared there only in recent times. Thus the languages were, and the mythologies are in full life among the negroes and browns, and will in time give us exemplifications as to the long-lost past. What has been for ages dead in Rome, in Etruria, in Thebes of Bœotia, in Sardis,* in Hamath, and in Babylon, is to be found in Africa, if not so compact, at all events in all its elements. There are the words, the grammatical forms, the gods and the superstitions.

Thus what has now been given as a rough and early sketch will, by the efforts of scholars, be fully filled up in the decipherment of Etruscan and in the illustration of early Roman institutions. How far these new resources of learning may be applied it is impossible to foretell. They may even touch ourselves. Those who contemplate the gods of our fathers and of the Norse find strange likenesses with those of Etruria and Rome, the twelve gods, with the same name of As or Æsar, in Asgard, the city of the Northern gods, as in Etruria. Then, too, the one God, All Father, before whom the whole pantheon of gods, goddesses, demons, and fetishes was as nought, and in whom the higher belief was never lost, belongs to that primeval monotheism which was the chief object of the ancient Turanian and Aryan mysteries, and to which the African fetishism is so often found subordinate.

It is one incentive to the study of the early history of populations now extinct, though living in glory, that we may perhaps throw a light upon what is equally obscure, the antecedents of our own nations.

* Professor Sayce has lately confirmed my assignment of this region to Khita.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN AFFGHANISTAN.

BY HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, Esq., M.A.,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

BEFORE our own no European army, except that of Alexander, has ever traversed Affghanistan, and some interest naturally attaches to his movements among the passes so well known to us. Hitherto, however, the attempts to trace his progress have not been very satisfactory. My attention was drawn to the question, and reading a paper by Henry L. Long in an old number of the *Classical Museum*, I was led to believe with him that the theory of Grote and most historians which sends Alexander through Kohistan and the neighbourhood was untenable.

My own idea of his route I advance as a suggestion merely, to be worked out if necessary by those with more local and special knowledge.

In 330 B.C. he marched through the country, apparently by Herat * and Candahar, both Alexandreias, the latter perhaps still retaining the name in a corrupted form, to Ghizni and across the range of Caucasus or Parapamisus (the Hindoo Koosh) into the Bactrian country. In 327 B.C. he returned upon his road to India, and here begin the discrepancies and difficulties of the story.

We may premise that there is only one thoroughly trustworthy historian of his campaigns. Arrian wrote his

* Said to have been still called Skandria by the Persians in the fourteenth century.

Anabasis with the military journals of the generals Ptolemy and Aristobulos before him, and gives a reasonable and sober account of marches, battles, political events, and personal exploits. Quintus Curtius gives us a romance, and Plutarch anecdotes with philosophical remarks upon them. Both are worthless for military history. Justin and Diodorus are inferior also.

Quitting Bactra (Balk) ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἦρος Alexander in ten days crossed the mountains towards the Parapamisan Alexandreia.*

No Alexandreia is known by Strabo nor by Ptolemy (Geogr) in this direction. Ortospana or Kabura is mentioned as the town on the road from Bactra to India south of the mountains. Kabura *may* be Kabul.

At all events, a ten days' march could not bring him much further than that neighbourhood. By the Bamian route he might have reached some point to the westward of Kabul. At all events, this Alexandreia cannot be Candahar, as Mr. Long surmises (*Classical Museum,* vol. vi.). The distance from Balk to Candahar is too great to be supposed as traversed between two consecutive sentences of Arrian.† Neither is Candahar so close to the chain of Parapamisus as to be called the Parapamisan Alexandreia.

Thence he advanced to Nikaia, a place I believe unidentified, and went on ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα. The Kophes, one boundary of the government, the centre of which was the Parapamisan Alexandreia, is usually considered to be the Kabul River. Mr. Long thinks it is the Helmund, or its branch the Tarnuck. At all events, this march must have been in a southern or south-eastern direction from anywhere north or

* As he was on the road to India we may exclude the supposition that he took the road which is marked in maps as running nearly directly south from Balk towards Candahar. The direction and the subsequent operations, as well as the time occupied in the whole campaign, forbid it.

† That Alexandreia was at Ghizni and Nikaia at Candahar is *possible*, but the supposition is advanced by Mr. Long to support the theory of a march through the Bolan, which is scarcely possible.

east of Kabul* to reach the Helmund, or the upper streams of the Kabul River itself.

Afterwards he divided his army, and sent Hephaistion and Perdikkas with a friendly Indian prince or satrap, Taxiles, to the Indus, to the country of Peukelaotis, to build a bridge. This is universally, I believe, placed at Attock. This expedition would proceed by a shorter and easier route probably than that taken by Alexander himself, as he evidently expected them to reach the Indus first, and have his bridge ready for him.

The old theory seems to have been that this expedition went down the Khyber, and that Alexander himself turned northward again and fought his way through the mountainous country of Kaffiristan, Kohistan, and even Kashmir. To those who fail to see in the great Macedonian a mere reckless adventurer this seems almost impossible. There was no motive for plunging into this difficult country, almost impassable, in fact, from west to east for regular armies.†

Mr. Long, in the paper contributed to the *Classical Museum* alluded to above, points out the untenableness of this view. I am not sure that I can agree with him when he says that "the early season of the year would have rendered all proceeding towards Kabul, and to the north of that country, utterly impracticable." Ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἦρος surely means that the season was advanced. But, secondly, Mr. Long says very pertinently "he would have had to cross the Kabul River

* From whatever possible point we start we must take ὡς ἐπὶ as meaning "towards," not "at right angles to." "Towards the upper streams of the Kophes." This Kophes can hardly have been the Kabul river. No government in the neighbourhood of Kabul could be said to reach to the Kabul River *from* the country of the Parapamisadæ. (Arrian, iv., 22.)

† It is difficult not to suspect that this direction has been assigned to Alexander's march, owing to the interesting tradition among the chiefs of Kaffiristan and Badakshan, that they are descended from Alexander, or at least from his soldiers, a tradition probably dating from the greatness of the Macedonian Bactrian kingdom. See the account in Marco Polo's travels, and the interesting notes and comments of M. Penautier and of Colonel Yule upon it.

twice to reach Attock on this supposition,—first northwards towards Kaffiristan, secondly southwards to Attock. The Kabul River is unquestionably the Indus of Arrian and the ancients, for Arrian and Strabo both describe the Indus as rising in the Parapamisan mountains, whereas no mention is made of such a passage prior to his crossing it at Attock. Crossing the Kabul River is no light undertaking, as we know by the unfortunate accident to the Hussars recently (March, 1879). Whether the Kabul River be called the Kophes or the Indus, we are equally kept in ignorance of Alexander's crossing it at all in Arrian's account. He only crosses the Indus at Attock.*

Lastly, Aornos (which Alexander subsequently attacked) "would have to be placed in that northern district, whereas Aornos, is expressly described as a mountain pass [no, as a *rock*, Arrian, iv., 23] on the main road from Persia towards India, a position wholly irreconcilable with anything in Kohistan or Cashmere."

I may add that Alexander would have not probably found elephants on the banks of the Indus in Kohistan. His real object as a soldier and a prudent man was to clear the passes by which he might have to return, and by which communication with the west would have to be kept up, and to give to the mountaineers of the Suleiman, the Sefid Kuh, and other ranges some proof of his power to chastise their marauding attacks on convoys, or on the plains and valleys which had submitted to him.

The men of Kaffiristan commanded no pass, and were far enough from the Indian plains or Affghan valleys.

Hephaistion and Perdikkas seem to have accomplished their march under the guidance and probably by the manage-

* If the Kabul River were the Kophes, Alexander marched eastward from near Kabul at first. The possibility of sending Hephaistion by a shorter route to the Indus then disappears, unless Alexander went north of the Kabul River, when, as above, we are met with the objection that there is no account of the dangerous and difficult recrossing of the Kabul, dangerous as we too well know now, to reach Attock, when the rivers were swollen by melted snow. (Arrian, v., 9.)

ment of Taxiles, with but little fighting. Alexander, with Krateros and Ptolemy, had to fight his way.

Here again, however, I must differ from Mr. Long. He sends the former through the Gomul pass to Dera Ismail Khan, and takes Alexander as far south as the Bolan—both starting from Candahar. Besides the difficulty above stated, that they had not had time to reach Candahar before this, two other considerations seem to me fatal to this view. First though Alexander left Balk when spring was over, yet he fought Porus in the Punjaub in the summer in the rainy season, which in the Punjaub is, I believe, in June or July, ἦ γαρ ὥρα ἔτους ἦ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος (Arrian, v., 9). The march through the Bolan and up the country to Attock, and then across the Indus, has not by this supposition time enough allowed for it. Secondly, a march from the lower end of the Bolan up to Attock would have been an extraordinary undertaking at any season, as bad as Alexander's subsequent march through Gedrosia. When he descended the Indus it was with a fleet on the river to aid him with supplies and carriage.

There are, however, other passes. Starting from somewhere between Kabul and Ghizni, the route through the Khyber being blocked as it would appear, the most direct route by which Hephaistion, Perdikkas, and Taxiles would travel is by the Peiwar, down the Kurum valley towards Thull, and then northwards. Alexander himself may have penetrated by the next important pass, that by the Gomul river. This route would give ample scope for the mountain fighting described in detail by Arrian, and not involve such a march to reach the neighbourhood of Attock as Mr. Long's supposition entails. I take it that the description of precipitous ascents, torrents, and hill forts would apply equally well in any part of the range and succession of passes.

The identification of names is hazardous, but Alexander turning northwards from the end of the Gomul pass would presently reach the Kurum river. This might be the Γουραῖος which Arrian says he crossed. It was evidently a consider-

able river, for the neighbouring tribe, the Gouraioi, bore its name. By the description it was not quite a small stream which might have been named from them. Arrian speaks of the river ἐπώνυμος τῆς χωρας. They were named from it. Three sieges completed the conquest of the country between the Kurum and the road from Thull towards Attock, which I believe Hephaistion, Perdikkas, and Taxiles to have taken.

There only remains to be noticed the taking of Aornos. Alexander took this rock or fortified height after reaching Peukelaotis, close to the Indus, yet marching past it, *again* reached the Indus, the Kabul river, I believe, in the country of the Assakenoi (the Affghans). This fixes, I believe, the identity of Aornos with the mountains about the Khyber pass. The Indus is the Kabul river, as we said above. Marching northwards so as to reach the true Indus again from Attock, Alexander would have had to cross the Kabul river, of which crossing no mention is made. Marching southward would have been retracing his steps. He would have passed Aornos before if it lay in that direction.

Aornos is said by Arrian and Strabo to have resisted the arms of Hercules (Arrian, iv., 28 ; Strabo, 15, I., p. 688). This possibly means that some conqueror approaching India suffered the not improbable fate of a defeat in the Khyber pass. But Alexander did not turn to attack it from mere emulation of a mythical ancestor. He desired to clear the Khyber, as he had by arms or policy cleared the Gomul and the Peiwar ; and to teach the ancestors of the Afridis the lesson taught the mountaineers to the southward. Also he desired to secure the elephants of the king of the Assakenoi, now safe it was thought in the Jellalabad valley, or in that neighbourhood.

It will not do to make Aornos the *pass* of the Khyber, for the description demands a rock or elevated plateau. It is impossible to speak certainly, but a strong temptation exists to identify it with Ali Musjid, the rock commanding the road, where a fountain exists, as was the case at Aornos. Embolina, by its name the city at the mouth of the pass, must have

been near Peshawur. Alexander halted here before the attack. It was perhaps at Jumrood. Peshawur itself is more likely Peukelaotis, which, with walled villages near the Indus, Alexander took before attacking Aornos.

Many reasons may have induced Alexander not to attempt this road immediately from the neighbourhood of Kabul. A negotiation with the head men, in the hopes of their coming in as Taxiles did, may have been one; perhaps the early season was another, but I think not. (*Vide supra.*)

Lastly, in this neighbourhood, after passing Aornos and again reaching the Indus, Alexander is said by Arrian to have found the city of Nysa, founded by Dionysos. The abundant vines of the region of Kabul suggest an explanation, and assist in identifying the whereabouts of the place. It is another indication of the conqueror having turned back upon the mountains to secure his retreat.

With tribes cowed or friendly in the Khyber, the Peiwar, and the Gomul, a march into India was made more safe. The Bolan would have been a circuitous route to secure, and the mountains of Kohistan offered no route anywhere.

Considering the extraordinary achievements of Alexander—for instance, his march across the Gedrosian desert, or the reduction of Affghanistan in these two campaigns of part of 330 and 327,—he is entitled to a reasonable explanation of his movements if possible, and I put forward this theory of his operations merely as a supposition not geographically impossible, and likely to have been adopted for military and political reasons.

It is worthy of note that in these two years, 330 and 327, Alexander demonstrated the possibility of bringing an invading army into Affghanistan by the main alternative routes which would have to be traversed by a Russian army.

Attock, where he is supposed to have crossed the Indus, has been the scene of more than one unsuccessful attempt at bridging that river since. Crossing the rivers of the Punjaub in the rainy season, in the neighbourhood of an enemy, shows a great amount of mechanical resource and military skill in the Macedonian army.

NOTICE OF THE REGISTER AND CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT BOOK WHICH BELONGED TO KNEBWORTH, HERTS, PRESERVED IN DR. WILLIAMS' LIBRARY.

By the Rev. CHARLES B. PEARSON, Prebendary of Sarum,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

The register here referred to is said to have been found among papers in an empty house, but where or when is not stated. As far as the entries of births, deaths, and marriages are concerned, it seems to have been copied partially into the books now preserved at Knebworth, but there are some odd variations here and there. The church register begins in 1602. That preserved in Dr. Williams' library is headed thus :—

"A book or register conteyninge all Christeninges, marriages, and buryalls within the parish of Knebworth, from the feaste of St. Mychaell Th'Archangell beinge the xxixth daye of September, in the yeare of oure Lorde God 1596, and in the yeare of the raigne of oure Soveren Ladie Queene Elizabethe xxxvii, as followethe, et., et."

It would be tedious and uninteresting to copy the entries, which chiefly concern "the rude forefathers" of a very small and secluded country village ; there are, however, one or two peculiarities which may be worth notice.

The most pains in the early entries is bestowed upon the *christenings*, which is the word always used till 1612, when "baptized" takes the place of "christened." The name of the father is always mentioned, not always that of the mother, and the *sureties* are also named till 1599, not afterwards. *E. g.*,—

"Edwarde Willsher, the sonne of Thomas Willsher of Langleye, christende the vijth daye of May, 1597, whose sureties were Roberte Hodgekins of Knebworth the parson, Mrs. Elizabethe Corbett, also Mrs. Wallope and Jhon Kettle."

"Thomas Yonge, the sonne of Thomas Yonge the younger, christenede the seconde daye of July, 1598, whose suerties were Roberte Hodgekins parson, Richarde Bigge the elder, and the goodwyffe Camfielde, the wyfe of Jhon Camfielde of the Traij * howsen."

A specimen of the baptism of a person of greater consideration runs thus :—

"Mrs. Ann Wallope,† the daughter of Mr. Henrie Wallope, Esq^re^, christenede xxij. daye of Julij, 1597, whose suerties were Mr. Jhon Harleston, Mrs. Ann Lytton, and Mrs. Ann Caree."

The first entry of a marriage is—

"Charles Androw and Ales Dardes, marryede the iiij^th^ of November, 1596."

In 1597, "Edwarde Atkins, *shipmaistere*, and Marie Pratt were married," which is the only approach to a *designation* to be found.

1712. Henry Wheeler and Rebecca Todd were married "By *Banns*," then first mentioned; and 1716, "by *Licens*" occurs.

"1609. Buryed Alice Hodgkins, Aprill 3. by us
"Robert Hundlebie, Rector,"

is the first mention of the officiating minister.

1613. I find *designation* of persons buried,—

"Sarah Groome, daughter of Widowe Groome.

* This is a farm in Knebworth, "Three Houses," still called by the villagers "Three Housen."

† Whether the lady thus designated was an adult or an infant does not appear. The name Lytton introduces the chief landowner in Knebworth, from whom, by bequest of his mother, Mrs. Bulwer Lytton, the heiress of the Lyttons, the late Lord Lytton inherited the estate.

Alice Beaumond, wife of George Beaumond ;"

and so till 1664, the last so entered being—

"Edith, wife of Sam: Bentham. Rect. Febr. 15."

The Register ends 1717.

These trifling peculiarities, however, would not have been worth noticing, if the same book had not happened to contain some churchwardens' accounts beginning in 1599, some of the items of which may be considered curious. The first is headed—

"The accounte of Richard Bigge & Jo. Stanfield, churchwardens for the parish of Knebworthe before Mr.* Rowlande Lytton, Esq., Robert Hodgkins, cler; Jo. Darde, Jo. Kimpton, Jo. Weason, Thom^{s}. Younge, sen., Thom^{s}. Wrighte, Parishioners.

"Takenne the xxi. of December, being St. Thom^{s} Daye. An. Dom. 1599."

It is to be observed that the custom of churchwardens' accounts being rendered in Easter week was of later date. The Rector, also, does not appear to have been *ex officio* chairman.

All moneys received at the communion offertories, and at collections for the poor, were apparently handed over to the churchwardens.† The receipts were as follows :—

"Impr^{s}. received of Widow Pake for rente for the *
Church house... ... ... iijs. viijd.

* This is the same person who is afterwards called "Sir Rowland Lytton, Knight." He was Lieutenant of Herts, and commanded the forces of the county, and led them to the camp at Tilbury, in 1588. He was knighted at Belvoir, in 1603, and died 1616.

† They also regarded the trees in the churchyard as parish property.

‡ This, I suppose, was what we should call the Poor-house, which formerly existed in every parish. This particular house cannot now be identified. There was one in existence under that name in the adjoining parish of Codicote, which was pulled down in my remembrance, and the site thrown into the road.

It. Received of Widow Ballard for rente of one of the Church Beasts* ... ... iiijs.
It. Received of Edward Parker for rente of one of the Church Beasts ... ... iiij.
It. Rec^d^. of Tho^s^. Standler for Do. ... ... iiij.
It. Rec^d^. of Phillip Rotherome for do. ... ... iiij.

Sum. xixs. viiid.

It. more rec^d^. of the Churchwardens beforesayde for the benevolence offered att the Communyons ... xxs.
It. more rec^d^. of the Collect^n^. for the poore† ... xliiij. iiijd.

The Churchwarden's accounte for the Poore aforesayde as followethe:

Impr^s^. payde for Bread and Wyne att fyve Comunyons ... ... ixs. jd.
It. payde for our dinners and the sydes men Thom^s^. Barwell & Edw^d^. Kinge, att two visytacions att Balldocke ... ... iijs.
It. payde for makinge of our bills att the sayde visytacions ... ... iiijd.
It. payde to the Aparyt^r^ for warninge us to the Visytacions aforesayde ... ... viijd.
It. payde for 16° (*sic*) yarde of matt for to kneele upon in the chancell ... ... ijs. viijd.
It. payde unto Tho^s^ Standles wyfe in the tyme of her sicknes ... ... viijs. viijd.

* These beasts, perhaps cows, or oxen for agricultural labour, seem to have been let out at a yearly rate of 4*s*. The same custom occurs in the Brightston, Isle of Wight, accounts, beginning 1566, where there were 10 cows let out at 7*d*. each, and 134 sheep at 2*d*. The Knebworth rent in 1599 is nearly seven times as much, so that the Brightston people were not unreasonable in trying in 1576 to raise their rents to 2*s*. 4*d*. a head respectively; but this was in advance of public feeling, and the old price continued till 1592, when the higher scale was adopted ("Church Quarterly," vol. iii., 373).

† In earlier times these collections were made at Easter and Christmas; not, however, as required by law till 1597.

It. payde unto Widow Harper and Goodwyfe Grene for wattchinge with her ix. dayes & ix. nights ...	iijs.	
It. payde for a locke for her the same tyme		xiiijd.
It. payde unto a bone setter for settinge of her boyes legge that was broken	ijs.	
It. payde to the Smyth for a buckell and a truell (trowel) and nayles for the bells		vjd.
It. payde for wasshinge of the surplis...		iijd.
It. payde owte for the Jayle and a mayemede solldyere (maimed soldier)	iijs.	iiijd.
It. distributede amongste the poore	xijs.	iiijd."

This last item disposes of the same sum "*remayninge in the Churchwardens hands*," after rendering their account; at this time power had been granted to Churchwardens to make a sort of rate for the relief of the poor, which was abolished by the famous Act of Eliz. 43, 1601, when Overseers were created.

Then follow gifts of money, varying from 1*s.* to 6*d.*, to thirteen poor persons, amounting to 9*s.* 4*d.*, the total expenses being 40*s.*

The parish seems to have been flourishing in its funds at this time, as appears by the conclusion of the account :—

"Memor[d] restethe in the Churche Boxe	iiijl. ixd.
It. remaynethe in the Handes of ffranceis Bigge, for the w[ch] he standethe bownde to the Churche wardens to the use of the Churche Boxe	viijl.
It. more in the hands of Henrye Pratt, for the w[ch] Mr. Rowland Lytton, Esq[r], is suertie	xxs.
It. remayninge in the Handes of Jhon Mason, the w[ch] he receavede of the goodm. Merrilde in full satisefaction of the dett he owede to the Church boxe, and for the w[ch] he was his suertie, etc.	xxs.
It. remayninge in the handes of Myhell ffeeldes wyfe, the w[ch] was Myhell ffeeldes his dett	ls.

1600. Dec. 21, being S[t] Thomas daye"—

The same churchwardens and parishioners named and the

receipts for "rente for Church Howse," and of four persons for "rente of one the Churche Beaste at iiijs. each.

The Benevolence of the Comunyon the aforesaide yeare ... ... vjs.
It. rec[d] more of the collections for the poore ... xliiijs. iiijd.
Sm. ls. iiijd."

The account of expenses much the same :—

"It. payde owte for a Shovell ... ... xd.
It. given to Widdowe Cowdell in her sickness ... viijs. iiijd.
It. payde owte for Tyles and ij busshells of Lyme for ower Churche ... ... vijs. xjd.
It. payde to the Tyler for tylinge of the Church ... xxd.
It. Laiede owte for Bread and Wyne for iij * Comunions viijd.
It. distributede to the poore at Christyde, 9 persons at xijd. each."

(Notice of sums remaining in Church box and hands of three persons, as before.)

1600. Missing.

"1602. The accounte of John Mason and Edward Darde, Churchwardens, with the overseers † for the Parishe of Knebworthe, before Mr. Rowland Lytton, Esq[r], Rob[t] Hodgkins, Clerk, Richard Bigge, John Darde, Thomas ffeild, John Canfield, John Kimpton, Tho[s]. Wrighte, John Kettle, Roger Twiner, ‡ parishioners, the xiiij[th] day of Aprile, An. Regn., Reg. Elizabeth xliiij. An. Do. 1602, as followethe :—

Imp. rec. att the laste accounte ... ... xxiiijs.
It. rec. att the Communyon att Whitsonntyde ... xiijd.
It. rec. of Mr. Parson for the benevolence att two Comns., vid. Christm[s] and the Easter followinge ... vijs. vjd.
It. rec. more at Christm[s] laste for the benevolence att the Comunion the same tyme ... ... iiijs. jd.
It. rec. more att the Comunion laste Easter ... ... iijs. ijd.
It. for the Rennte of the Church house ... ... iijs. iiijd.
It. for the Rennte of foure Beaste, whereof one re-

* The number of Communions varies—three, four, and five times a year.

† This word is interlined, and here first mentioned.

‡ Six of these names still exist at Knebworth.

maynethe in the hande of Widowe Ballard, one in the hande of Edw[d] Barker, one in the hande of Tho[s] Standley, and one in the hande of Phillippe Rotherame ... ... xvjs.

Rec. more of the collection for the poore ... ... xliiijs. iiijd.

Given to the poore owte of those receipts, as followethe (to 14 persons) :—

It. to a collecton for the burninge of the town of Gamlingo (Gamlingay) in the Countye of Cambridge ... ijs.

Layd fourthe by the Churchwardens as followeth :—

Bread and Wine at three Comns. iijs. jd. each.

It. To Cockle for his worke about the bells ... ... xd.

to the Clerke for naylles for the bells ... ... iijd.

to the Clerke for his help aboute the bells ... ... vjd.

for two bell ropes ... ... iijs. xd.

to the Smyth for Iron work about the bells... ... iijs. xd.

to the Smyth for a staple to the stocks * ... ... ijd.

for rope for the bells... ... ... ijd.

for the washinge of the Surplis ... ... iijd.

given to a poore man and a poore woman... ... ijd.

p[d]. for y[e] chargeis att y[e] Archdeacon's Visitn. in Lente ... ... ijs.

p[d]. for y[e] chargeis att y[e] Bishop's Visitn. afore Whitsontyde ... ... ijs. viijd.

for a booke sent by the Bishop ... ... viijd.

for mendinge the bellfreye stares ... ... vjd.

for a bushell of lyme for the same ... ... iijd.

to the Smythe for mendinge the church mattocks ... iiijd.

Sumn. of the disbursements until y[e] xiiijth Aprill 1602, comethe to xlviijs. iiijd.

Remayneth of the Receipts ... ... xjs. ijd.

Remayneth in the Church box ... ... l.li. ijs. iiijd.

De'ivered to Roger Turner to be employed upon occasions ... ... xs.

Remayninge in the hands of Burwell Clark ... ... iijs. vjd.

———————————— Henrye Pratt, suertie

Mr. Lytton ... ... xxs.

* These existed thirty years ago; the upper limb being inscribed "Thou shalt not steal;" which nevertheless was stolen one night, and I suppose burnt as fuel.

——————————— Merillde, suertie Jo. Mason ... ... xxs.
——————————— Mihyell Feild's wyfe ... vs.

1603. The accounte of Jo. Kettle and Edw. Darde the 14th April, 1603, before Sir Rowland Lytton Knight, &c."

Receipts as before, with the addition—

"R^d for the woode growinge in the Church raile ... vjs. viijd."

Expenses as before, with the addition

"For halfe a hyde of white leather for ij bell ropes... iijs.
the glaysyre for y^e Church windows ... ... vjs.
to hedginge y^e Churchyard ... ... ijs. iiijd.
for a sheete of parchmente * ... ... viijd.
for Bushes ... ... iiijd.
for y^e carryinge of them ... ... xxd.
for stakes and edders † for y^e Churchyarde ... xxd."

It is worth observation that there is no insertion of payments for sparrows, or foxes, or other vermin, in these early accounts. In a thickly wooded country parish like Knebworth, of course they swarmed, as they do now; but in this respect the villagers of those days were wiser than they were in the next two centuries. I question whether Churchwardens paid for such things earlier than the middle or end of the seventeenth century. I hope none do so now.

The accounte of John Kettle and Thom^s Sibley was presented for two years, 1604, 5, the xiijth of Aprill, 1605.

The receipts for the Beasts vary a little.

"Rec. of Mother Cawdell for a Cowe ... ... viijd.
Im. receyved of John Kettle for two of the townes beasts (apparently sold to him) ... ... iijli iijs. iiijd.
rec. for 4 of the townes beasts rent ... ... xvjs.
rec. for one Kowe hide ... ... ijs.
rec. for three beasts ... ... xvjs.
rec. of Widowe Ballard for the rent of a Kowe w^h died about our Ladies day ... ... ijs.

* This was very dear; the charge in S. Michael's Bath rolls is always 2d.
† Hedges. *Eder breche* is the trespass of hedge-breaking.

Impr^{s} pd. for a Kowe ... ... xlvijs. viijd.
———— another Kowe ... ... xlviijs. vjd.
(Evidently to replace the two "townes beasts" sold as above.)
The glasier ... ... vjs. vjd.
— Smythe ... ... iiijd.
ii belropes ... ... iijs. vijd.
to the Apparit^{r}* at Huntingdon ... ... iiijs. ijd.
—— Registere ... ... ijs. vjd.
half a load of bushes ... ... vjs.
one rayle and som pales ... ... ijs. ijd.
two labourers for one dayes worke ... ... xvjd.
more to them for a dayes worke ... ... xxd.
paling about y^{e} Churchyarde ... ... vs. vijd.
to Tho^{s} Field for caryinge bushes ... ... xijd.
the Appar^{r} for our booke ... ... xd.
caryinge y^{e} register to Huntingdon ... ... xijd.
Smith for y^{e} mending of a clapper ... ... ijs. vjd.
To Parker and Cockell for iiij dayes worke ... ... iiijs. viijd.
The chargeis for one Courte att Balldocke and for y^{e} apparator ... ... xxd.
for three bookes ... ... xijs. iiijd.
p^{d} to Kettle uppon his accounte ... ... xxxiijs. ixd.
— to y^{e} Clarke for makinge of Master Wrighte's grave ... ... viijd.
— to Jo. Camfield for keeping of Eliz. Hyll for ix weekes when she was delivered ... ... xviijs.

Memorandum.—Payde to Richarde Bigg of Rye Ende and to Jhon Dards of Dardes Ende y^{e} elder; collections for y^{e} poore of Knebworthe, the therde of October, the some of x^{l}, w^{h} I Robrt. Hodgekins, Clerc, did owe to the Church Boxe: the w^{ch} some of x^{li} remainethe in the saide collectors hands to the use of the poore boxe upon this accounte, etc, 1605.

1606. The acc^{t} of Ric^{d} Purley and John Cackell, Churchw^{ns}, and Ric^{d} Bigge and Jo. Dardes overseers. In the pres. of Sir Rowland Lytton, July 20.

No receipts recorded.

*This word is a great trouble. It is spelt "Parryto^{r}," "Aparyt^{r}," "Aparator," and at length, 1606, "Apparitor."

Payd. for 3 hundred of tyle and 12 widyr tyle ... vs.
for ½ a quarter of lyme ... ... xvjs.
to Corke and hys man for a dayes worke and a halfe ... ... iijs.
for nayles and tyle pynnes ... ... iiijd.
Old John Dards for ranging tyle and sand... ... xvjd.
to the glasier for mending the windowes ... ... iijs. vjd.
for a hundred of board with the cariadge ... ... ixs.
— 2c of nayles ... ... xxd.
— 2 dayes worke and a halfe ... ... ijs. vjd.
for a cushion for y^e^ pulpitt ... ... ijs. ijd.
for carrying in of y^e^ register bill ... ... ijd.
for helving a mattock for y^e^ Church ... ... ijd.
for a baskett for y^e^ Church ... ... iiijd.

1607. 30^mo^ Aprilis.
There was due to y^e^ Churchwardens as appearethe by their bill ... ... iijli. xvijs. viijd.
There was due to the poore man's box from collections for ye poore ... ... xxviijs. iiijd.
Mem. to deduct owte of the collection for the poore for Mardolphe ... ... iiijd.
Itm. for Widowe Greene yearlie ... ... iiijd.

1609. The account of the Churchw^ns^ and y^e^ Overseers of the parish of Knebworth for y^e^ year past taken y^e^ x^th^ of May, 1609. Apparently for 1608-9.
Rec. upon y^e^ yearly collection for y^e^ poore ... ... xlijs. ijd.
The rent of iij townes beasts ... ... xijs.
Of Willm. Greene in consideracn of the x^li^ w^ch^ is in his handes ... ... xs.
for a collect^n^ for repayringe the fence of y^e^ Churchyard ... ... vili. ixs. vijd.
for chips that came of y^e^ rayles ... ... iiijs. xjd.
Layd out in almes to y^e^ poor ... ... xlvijs. iiijd.
For timber ... ... iijli.
for fellinge y^e^ timber ... ... ijs.
Layd out for cutting out of y^e^ timber ... ... js. xd.
a dayes worke when we fetcht home y^e^ timber ... js. iijd.

for breade and drinke at y^e^ same time	js. iijd.
for hewinge iij loade and a half of timber	xiijs. ixd.
for saweinge of vij (hundred) and iij skore foote	xxiijs. ixd.
Itm. to y^e^ carpenter for settinge up y^e^ rayles of y^e^ churchyard with a gate and a stile, beinge xi pole and halfe	xxxs.
for hookes and hinges from y^e^ Smith	iijs. iijd.
For y^e^ booke of Cannons	ijs.
For a booke of Articles	vjd.
To the apparitor	iiijs.
for the calinge of y^e^ Churchwardens at the Bishop's visitacon att Hytchen *	iiijd.
for breade and wine at Michaelmas	xxiijd.
for the calinge att y^e^ visitacon at Baldocke ...	viijd.
for the bill	vjd.
for y^e^ dinner	xviijd.
for us at y^e^ visitacon after Ester	iijs.
for or. bill	vjd.
for a Roole of parchment	vjd.
for y^e^ carreinge of or. bills	ijs.
for or. charges at y^e^ visitacon at Hitchin	ijs.
for makinge of a bill	ijd.
for mendinge a clapper	ijd.
For a shovel	xijd.
For breade and wine at 5 Comns.	xs. iiijd.
For xvij hundred of tiles	xviijs. vd.
—— v hundred of laths	vjs.
—— xxij bushells of lime	xs. viijd.
—— xxi hundred of nayles	iijs. iijd.
—— Crafts worke	viijs.
—— v peckes of tiles pinns	ijs. vjd.
—— a dayes work att cart and for one loade ...	viijs.
Somme.	xiijli. xvijs. iiijd.
Md. ovr. to the new overseers	xvijs.

* Knebworth was at this time in the Diocese of Lincoln, and the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon. The Bishop held his visitation at Hitchin, no doubt as a larger and more central town ; the Archdeacon held his at Baldock, but the registers, at least the copies of them, were carried to bs deposited in the Archdeacon's muniments at Huntingdon.

Re. vli. w^h^ Mardolph had the last yeere is now in y^e^
handes of Will^m^ Greene, of Rustlinge Endd .... vli.
It. ther remayneth in Henry Pratts hands ... ... xxs.
——— remayneth in John Masons hands ... ... xxs.

Here ends the record of Knebworth doings 270 years ago. The names of the various village and parochial localities remain as then. "Dardes End" is now "Deards' End;" "Tray Housen," "Three houses," "Rustlinge End," and "Rye Ende" are so still; the latter a singular piece of ground with a few cottages on it, a couple of miles from the village, and surrounded by the adjoining parish of Kimpton.

The accounts of 1609 are curious to one who, like myself knew its circumstances in 1862, when a similar work was carried out of repairing the fence of the churchyard. I imagine the size of the churchyard itself is the same now as it was then; the church stands in the park, surrounded by it on all sides, and its condition shows its antiquity: it is almost impossible to dig a grave without disturbing ancient interments, and it affords a proof, if any were needed, that in even small country parishes it would be on all accounts desirable to close the existing churchyards, and establish a cemetery: this, however, is by the way. In 1862 it cost £69 15*s.* to repale 31 rod of fencing; in 1609 it cost altogether £7 13*s.* 11*d.* to re-pale 11½ *pole,* which appears in the tables to be equivalent to a *rod.* Calculating roughly, a rod of fencing in 1609 cost about 13*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1862 £1 2*s.* 6*d.* I do not exactly know what is the difference between 1609 and 1862 in the relative value of money, but I imagine 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1609 would be equivalent to far more than £1 2*s.* 6*d.* now. Less than 100 years earlier, Mr. Froude calculates that money was worth twelve times as much as now. The earlier estimate, however, included a gate and a stile, as well as palings.

After all, our attempts at comparisons of expenses in different centuries are tentative at best, and cannot, so far as I am able to discover, be reduced to any certain laws.

HENRY VIII.'S BOOK, "ASSERTIO SEPTEM SACRAMENTORUM," AND THE ROYAL TITLE OF "DEFENDER OF THE FAITH."

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THE titles which have been borne by English sovereigns, in common with those of many other exalted personages, were formerly more remarkable for the splendour of their sound or the curiosities of their historical associations than for the accuracy with which they expressed the rights and powers which belonged to, or were even claimed by, their possessors. The kings of England called themselves kings of Scotland when their whole territory beyond the border consisted of the town of Berwick. They were called Lords of Ireland in times when no English soldier could venture beyond the Pale. They claimed the dignity of King of France when they had not held a foot of French ground for a century; and finally, ever since the time of Henry VIII., they have been styled "Defenders of the Faith"—a title which, taken in its original meaning, declares them to be the defenders of a branch of the Christian faith of which they are the hereditary arch-opponents.

The titles of King of Scotland and Lord of Ireland have merged in that—no longer a farce—of Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland. The title which for centuries preserved the memory of Edward III.'s claim to the throne of France was given up in deference to Napoleon I.; but the strangest anomaly of all, a title given by Leo X., and again by Clement VII.,

to a king afterwards branded by the latter Pope himself as an heresiarch, still remains the proudest distinction in the list of the royal dignities.

It is curious to notice that three totally different significations have been attached to this one title. When first it was granted it implied that the King of England was one of the most loyal, and pre-eminently the most zealous, of the sons of the Church. At a later time, when, after Henry's separation from Rome, it was adopted by Act of Parliament, it implied that the king, being a rebellious Roman Catholic, had practically made himself Pope in his own country. But lastly, since the Reformation, the title has acquired a new and most weighty meaning when considered in its bearing on the position which our kings and queens occupy in relation to the Church of England, and, it might be added, to the whole of Protestantism.

The history of the title is not so simple as it is generally supposed to be. It does not rest on the bull of Leo X., which granted the dignity to Henry VIII., nor even on that of Clement VII., which confirmed the grant. The distinguished Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, even denies that the sovereigns of England since Henry VIII. have any right to the title at all. "The title," says he, "belonged to the king (Henry) personally, not to his successors." "In neither of these bulls is there any grant of inheritance." It may, therefore, be worth while to glance at the circumstances under which the title was given, and the very different ones under which it was retained.

The theological education of Henry, who as a younger son had been intended for the Archbishopric of Canterbury, had naturally inclined him to value highly the distinctions which it was in the power of the Church to bestow. He desired to hold some such title as "the Catholic," which had been bestowed on the kings of Spain; or "the Most Christian," which was annexed to the crown of France. It is even said that the latter title was secretly transferred from the schismatical Louis XII. to the orthodox King of Eng-

land by Julius II. But, though we have the authority of Dr. Lingard for this story, it appears that the secret was so well kept that Leo X. was in a position to declare himself ignorant of any such transaction, and to decline to bring upon himself the ill-will of the French and Spanish kings by ratifying it.

The attacks of Luther on the Church of Rome afforded Henry the opportunity which he desired of showing his devotion to the Church, making for himself a distinguished name as a theologian, and obtaining some title as a decisive mark of the papal favour. Impelled, as far as we can gather, partly by this feeling and partly by the nobler one of a disinterested desire to do what he could towards stopping the progress of the new heresy, the king produced his "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments," in answer to Luther's work, "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church." The presentation of Henry's book to the Pope, to whom it was dedicated, was responded to by a most laudatory address to the king's ambassador, the grant of an indulgence to all those who should read the book, and the title of Fidei Defensor to the royal author (Oct. 3, 1521). The language of the Pope in the bull which bestows this distinction is complimentary in the extreme, as might naturally be expected from one who had not only received the king's assistance in spiritual matters, but also entertained a lively hope of assistance, which he might perhaps value more highly, in mundane affairs; still we search in vain for any direct intimation that the title was to be hereditary. Old writers, such as Holinshed, Lever, &c., say that it was granted to the king and his successors, but the words of the bull are simply, "We, having carefully considered these things with our brethren, have by their unanimous advice and assent decreed to bestow on your Majesty this title, namely, Defender of the Faith. And as we have by this title honoured you, we likewise command all Christians that they name your Majesty by this title, and in their writings to your Majesty, that immediately after the word king they add Defender of the Faith. Having thus weighed and diligently considered your singular merits, we could not

have invented a more suitable name, nor one more worthy of your Majesty than this most excellent title, which as often as you hear or read, you shall remember your own merits and virtues. You will not by this title exalt yourself, or become proud, but according to your accustomed prudence, rather more humble in the faith of Christ, and more strong and constant in your devotion to this holy see by which you were exalted. And you shall rejoice in our Lord, who is the giver of all good things, for leaving such a perpetual and everlasting monument of your glory to your descendants, and showing them the way, that if they also desire to be invested with such a title, they may study to do such actions, and to follow the steps of your most excellent Majesty."*

This bull, then, so far from making the title hereditary, especially set forth that it was not so, and that if Henry's successors desired to bear it, they must earn it as he had done. The politic Leo X. desired to please Henry without offending the sovereigns of the other great European kingdoms; and in this not very easy undertaking he succeeded admirably. Henry was the delighted recipient of an honour which for the time bound him closer than ever to the Roman see. The kings of France and Spain were not particularly jealous of a mere personal distinction, which could not be put in competition with their hereditary titles of "Most Christian" and "Catholic." They saw what, it appears, Henry did not at first see, that the personal title which he held from Rome was inferior in dignity to the hereditary titles which they held.

The next step in the history of the title occurs in 1523, when the king obtained a confirmation of it from Clement VII. The original grantor, Leo X., had died before tht bull containing the title reached England, but whether there was any better reason for Henry desiring a fresh grant does not positively appear. It may have been that the memory of his treatment by Leo in the matter of the title promised by Julius made him anxious to be doubly sure of the title

* "Posteris tuis relinquere illisque viam ostendere ut," &c. Rymer Com. xiii., p. 756, edit. 1712.

which he had so recently obtained from Leo himself; but it is more likely that if there was any reason at all, it was that Henry desired to have the title made hereditary. This view is confirmed by the fact that several old writers (*e. g.*, Burnet) speak of the second bull actually making it so. Yet in the bull itself nothing is said about the title descending to Henry's heirs. It is simply confirmed to Henry himself, with the qualification of a single ambiguous word, "perpetuum," which seems to hint that the title is not to die with the present owner, although it is totally insufficient to continue it to his heirs. The words of the bull are—

"Considering all these things, we also, the successors of St. Peter, in the plenitude of the apostolic power, of our own sure knowledge and free will approve, confirm, and grant to you the title and name of Defender of the Faith, to be your own for ever."*

Conjecture is a dangerous guide in history, but the second grant of the title and the curious language of Clement's bull seem to lead to the conclusion that Henry wished the title to be made hereditary, that the Pope, however, did not wish to offend other powerful princes, and so to pacify his most zealous adherent he sent a bull, which though it did not make the title hereditary, and so avoided giving offence, was yet so ambiguously worded that Henry might be privately told that he could make the title hereditary on its authority. It must not, however, be forgotten that there is no evidence more than presumptive in favour of this view. All that can be positively said is, that the title was re-granted for no very obvious reason, that the language of Clement's bull is singular and slightly ambiguous, but that the precise wording invariably found in similar documents when setting forth that a grant is not only to the grantee but also to his heirs is not found in this; and therefore that no case in favour of the hereditary nature of the title can be made out from it.

* Titulum illum et cognomen Fidei Defensoris . . . approbamus confirmamus tibique perpetuum et proprium deputamus. Rymer, tom. xiv., p. 14.

The king who had received this somewhat doubtful mark of the papal favour was already embarking on the course which led to his separation from Rome. In 1522 Anne Boleyn appeared at the English court; in 1529 Wolsey retired from it in disgrace, and his place was soon filled by that determined aggrandizer of the royal power, Thomas Cromwell, while in the very year of Wolsey's fall the "Reformation Parliament" met, prepared to assert that entire independence of Rome for the English Church which made it for many years afterwards so absolutely dependent upon the kings and queens who were placed at its head.

In 1543, when Henry had not only separated from Rome, but been had deposed and excommunicated by the Pope, it must have appeared incongruous that he should continue to use a title which he had gained under such very different circumstances. But Henry, instead of giving up the title, was determined not only to keep it himself, but to settle it on his successors. Parliament was now called upon to play the part which the Pope had formerly taken, and the "Act for the King's Stile" declared that henceforth the royal titles should include that of Defender of the Faith. It was "enacted by the King our sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same," that "the said stile declared and set forth by this Act shall be from henceforth by the authority aforesaid united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this his Highness's realm of England."*

There is no uncertain sound given by the trumpet which thus declares that Henry will keep a title which he ought to have dropped, and will grant to his descendants a distinction which neither he nor his Parliament had any right to bestow.

Thus for the first time the title was declared to be hereditary. But there is a vast difference between the authority which granted the title and that which made it hereditary The Pope commanded all Christian people to call Henry

* 35 Hen. VIII., c. 3.

Defender of the Faith, the English Parliament could only require his own subjects to address him by that title; and though there could now be no doubt that all English sovereigns were to bear the title, there was as little doubt that the document in right of which they held it was a very different thing from the bull of Leo or Clement.

Parliament, which granted the title, was also ready to take it away, and in the first year of Philip and Mary (1554), eleven years after it was first passed, the "Act for the King's Stile" was repealed.*

Notwithstanding this, the title of Defender of the Faith, for which there was now no warrant, was retained and used by those sovereigns; and here we have the only instance of the title being used without the authority of either Pope or Parliament.

The earliest act of Elizabeth's reign annulled the statute of Philip and Mary, and thus the legal right to the title revived. Since that time, through all the various changes that the royal titles have undergone, that of Defender of the Faith has remained untouched.

From this brief sketch it will be seen that although two Popes bestowed the distinction of *Fidei Defensor* on Henry VIII., neither of them made it hereditary; that Henry, after separating from Rome, caused his Parliament to settle it upon his successors; that his Roman Catholic daughter procured the annulling of the act of her father's Parliament (apparently because it usurped a power in respect of this title which belonged only to the Pope), and yet would not resign a name to which she had left herself no sort of claim; and that, finally, the statute of Mary being repealed, our sovereigns have ever since, with the general approbation of their subjects, remained Defenders of the Faith.†

Having thus briefly traced the history of the title, the next question of interest is, how was it originally come by? Was

* 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar., c. 8.

† It is well known what general indignation was expressed when some florins were struck with the initials F. D. omitted.

it honestly earned by the exertion of the king's talent and industry, or was it (as probably most people believe) dishonestly obtained by the king putting his name to the work of Fisher, Lee, Wolsey, or More? To form a judgment on this point we should have before us all that is known of the circumstances under which the "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum" was written; the opinion of those writers who have pronounced against its genuineness, with their reasons; and lastly, the facts and assertions which can be produced on the other side.

The circumstances under which the book was written and presented to the Pope are so well told by Mr. Brewer, in his preface to the State papers of Henry VIII., that only a *résumé* of the extant letters on the subject will be given here.

As early as June, 1518, we find from a letter of Pace to Wolsey, that the king was engaged in writing a book, apparently against heresy, and that he was very glad "to have noted in [Wolsey's] letters that his reasons be called inevitable, considering that [Wolsey] was sum tyme his adversary herein and of contrary opinion." *

But although we gather that the king was engaged in some theological work, it is not till April, 1521, that we hear of him reading the book of Luther, "De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ," against which his "Assertio" was written.

On the 16th of April, 1521, Pace writes to Wolsey that he found the king reading a new book of Luther's. On his dispraising the book, Pace presented a bull which he had lately brought from Rome, probably in condemnation of certain of Luther's doctrines. The king was well contented, "showing unto me that it was very joyous to have these tidings from the Pope's Holiness, at such time as he had taken upon himself the defence of Christ's Church with his pen, afore the receipt of the said tidings; and that he will make an end of his book within these [few days]; and desiring your Grace to provide that within the same space, all such as be appointed to

* Brewer's "Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. ii., No. 4,257.

examine Luther's books may be congregated together for his Highness's perceiving." *

On the 21st of May of the same year Henry himself writes to the Pope, to say that he has completed his book against Luther, and desires to dedicate it to his Holiness. †

In June we find Wolsey applying to the College of Cardinals to grant his master some title equivalent to those held by the kings of France and Spain.‡ When the demand was not very promptly acceded to, Wolsey determined to make the king's book a pretext for gaining the coveted distinction; and in directing Clerk, the ambassador at Rome, to present copies of it to the Pope, sent in a list of titles which would be acceptable to the king. §

The Pope received the copies of the king's book with the most flattering graciousness; but though his praise was unstinted, he declined Clerk's urgent request for a public consistory, in which to make the formal presentation. He was, in fact, as Mr. Brewer remarks, bent on getting through this business with as little notoriety as he conveniently could without giving offence to any. Accordingly only about twenty prelates surrounded the Pope when the book was publicly presented. On the following day the title of *Defensor Fidei* was conferred on Henry VIII., with a readiness and heartiness which must have been most gratifying to him, but at the same time with an absence of parade which was no doubt intended to prevent, as far as possible, any outburst of jealousy from the Catholic or most Christian sovereigns.

The king's claim to the authorship of the "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum" has been very generally doubted, and by some writers rejected, on evidence which is anything but conclusive against it. Mr. Brewer seems to believe the book to have

* Brewer's "Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. iii., No. 1,233.

† Brewer's "Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. iii., No. 1,297.

‡ Cott. MSS., Vitell., b. iv., p. 116.

§ Brewer, vol. iii., No. 1,510.

been written by Henry because it is so bad. The Bishop of La Rochelle, who wrote an introduction to the French edition of 1850, considers it impossible that he could have produced the work, because it is so good. Horace Walpole pronounces the book a bad one, and yet too good for Henry to have written.

The arguments against the authenticity of the book may be divided into criticisms on (1) the style of the author, (2) his acquaintance with the works of Luther, (3) his acquaintance with general theological writings, and especially those of St. Thomas Aquinas, and (4) references to contemporary and other writers who did not believe the book to be by Henry, but by some of the distinguished theologians of his court.

1. It is insisted by the Bishop of La Rochelle and others, as Bishop Burnet, Horace Walpole, &c., that Henry was incapable of writing such good Latin as is found in this book, and Hallam * holds that though the work may have been by Henry, he was probably assisted by some one with a better knowledge of Latin than he himself possessed.

To set against this we have the opinion of Erasmus † that the king was capable of writing as good Latin as was contained in the disputed book. Besides this we have the alterations made by Henry in his coronation oath ‡ and alterations in his own hand in various documents, which together with the testimony of Erasmus—given in a private letter, and not at the king's request—show that Henry was capable of writing good Latin, though of course they alone prove nothing as to the authorship of the "Assertio." Notwithstanding this, the Latinity of the book is so universally praised (even Luther allowing it to be elegant), that it appears impossible that, good scholar as Henry undoubtedly was, he could have produced it entirely without assistance. What is known as to the assistance he received will be given later on.

2. The Bishop of La Rochelle, in his introduction to the

* Constitutional History, vol. i., page 59 [note], 7th edition.

† Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i., 486.

‡ Mr. Ellis's Letters, Second Series.

French edition, asserts that in his opinion Henry VIII. never had read or did read a line of Luther's works, and, moreover, he adds, the reading of the "Babylonish Captivity" was prohibited by the bull "Exurge Domine" (Leo X., 1520), and there is no proof that Henry obtained an exemption from the prohibition.

To this it may be briefly answered that there is the most positive proof in Pace's letters that Henry did read the "Babylonish Captivity," and therefore the bishop's reasoning from his general knowledge of Henry's want of acquaintance with Luther's works, and from the absence of proof that he could lawfully examine this particular one, falls to the ground.

3. It is then asserted that a man in Henry's position, with all the calls that must have been made upon his time, could never have acquired the learning which is shown in his book.

On the question of how much learning and ingenuity is shown in the book opinions are most divergent.

When first it appeared, the papal party greeted it with unanimous enthusiasm. The Pope declared it to contain stronger arguments than any that had appeared in the controversy. Campeggio styled it "*Aureus Libellus*," the Catholic world rang with its praises, and the printing presses in almost every civilized country produced editions of it.

On the other hand, Luther denounced it with a virulence in which he was unhappily only too well versed, as the stupidest nonsense that ever was produced even by the disciples of St. Thomas Aquinas, although "it is notorious that these Thomists are a dull and heavy-headed race of sophists, than whom in the whole range of human nature there is nothing more stupid and blockish."

It is useless, under these circumstances, to seek for a fair criticism of the book from those who lived when it was written; but even writers of our own time seem to differ as widely as to the argumentative merits of the work. While Dr. Brewer says that it repeated "without novelty or energy the old commonplaces of authority, tradition, and general consent," and that "the royal controversialist re-

produces without force, originality, or feeling, the weary topics he had picked up, without much thought or research, from the theological manuals of the day," the Bishop of La Rochelle* holds that it is a first-rate controversial production, and that it contains so much learning, treated with such a command of the technical phrases of theology, that it could only have been written by the greatest English theologian of the time, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

After weighing these various opinions the impartial reader will conclude that a book which was not only highly praised at the time, but is still admired, cannot be entirely without merit, especially when it is remembered that it drew from Luther a most abusive reply, which shows that he found it easier to attack the author than his arguments. On the other hand, the disparagement of so careful a critic as Mr. Brewer, and the general neglect into which the work soon passed, in spite of the excitement produced later on by the schism of its author, argue that it was not much above the ordinary level of controversial works. Assuming, then, that the knowledge and ingenuity shown in this work are not of the highest order, we are not obliged *prima facie* to conclude that it was impossible for Henry to have written it. It must be remembered that he was no beginner in theology: he had been originally educated for the Church; he had been working at it for some years, with the special object of refuting heresy; during this period he had so much improved in his power of argument that Wolsey, who had formerly (as it appears from one of Pace's letters quoted above) been dissatisfied with his reasoning, now pronounced it impregnable. Finally, he was so well read in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas that he was nicknamed Thomisticus.† When we add to this that Henry had frequent conversations with a number of ingenious theologians who attended his court, we shall see that he not only might have had but must have had a very wide knowledge of the arguments which could be advanced on his side of the

* French edition of "Assertio," 1857, Introduction.

† Lord Herbert of Cherbury's "History of Henry VIII.," fol. 85.

controversy. It is, then, by no means impossible that Henry should have compiled the "Assertio;" on the contrary, it is highly improbable that a sovereign so proud of his theological knowledge would allow others to alter what he had written. In one case we have an account of how Sir Thomas More wished him to alter a passage, and the king's refusal to allow it to be touched.

4. This brings us to the last point in the consideration of the arguments against the authenticity of the "Assertio," the fact that many old writers do not believe the book to have been the king's. This is the point on which the argument must finally turn. We have so far considered whether the king could have written such good Latin as was in his book, whether he had read Luther's works, and whether he had sufficient theology to bring forward the arguments which stand in his name. Now we reach the contest of authorities, which must decide—if it can be decided—not whether he could write the book, but whether he did write it. There is one noticeable point in the contest of evidence—that all those who could know anything about what was doing at court say that the book was the king's, with qualifications which will be referred to; while those who denied the king's authorship based their opinions, as people do still, on the improbability that so exalted a personage could have produced so excellent a work. Luther himself and his followers generally did not believe that Henry wrote the book. In his reply to the "Assertio," Luther, though expressing most uncomplimentary opinions about the value of the book, tells his royal opponent that he was a fool for allowing his name to be put to a book full of lies and sophistry. But if Luther's mind was as agitated on the subject as the violence of his language would lead us to believe, he was hardly a competent judge of its authenticity, especially as he had conceived the idea that it was written by Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, a man who was already objectionable to the great German reformer. At a later period Luther apologized for his violence, but still held to his opinion that Henry did not write the book. In

England doubts on the point seem to have arisen before the book was actually published, as we have Erasmus writing about the matter, apparently to answer some such doubt, when he himself had only just seen a copy. Mr. Bruce points out that in the preface to his book the king says people will probably doubt whether the nominal author was the real one, and this he naturally styles a very suspicious precaution; but if these doubts had been already expressed Henry would, of course, notice and reply to them; and the language of the preface, which seemed so suspicious to Mr. Bruce, will seem to us only natural and reasonable.

The doubts which Henry's contemporaries felt as to his ability to produce such a work as the "Assertio" are very plainly set forth in a memorial* presented to Cromwell by an obscure man named Constantine, who, having been accused of treason, sent a full account of his alleged suspicious sayings in the form of a dialogue for the minister's consideration. The writer claims to have held conversations with the king on theological subjects; and though he allows him to be learned, probably the most learned prince in Christendom, yet he does not consider him a sufficiently accomplished scholar to have written so excellent a book. He thinks that in all probability the book was written by More and Fisher. It must be remembered, however, that this writer does not profess to have been at court when the work was being prepared, and that the conversations with the king are alleged to have taken place some years after it was published. The historians of Elizabeth's reign and later do not, as a rule, mention that there was any doubt whether Henry wrote the "Assertio." Holinshed uses very mysterious language about it and the king, but he is apparently hinting at some rumour as to the king's motives in writing it, not as to who did write it. Lever, in his "Defenders of the Catholic Faith," says doubts were expressed on the subject, but he had evidently not attempted to solve them. Lastly, the opinions adverse to Henry's claim to authorship expressed by Burnet

* "Archæologia," vol. xxiii.

and Horace Walpole rest rather upon the *prima facie* improbability that he could write such a book than upon any historical proof that he did not write it.

The evidence that can be adduced in favour of the position that Henry wrote, or at least took a considerable part in writing the "Assertio" is of a very different stamp from this. In the first place, we have Pace's letters, referred to above, showing that Henry had been working at controversial theology for some years, and that he had appointed several men to examine Luther's works for him. We have Henry's own letter to the Pope, though of course that does not add much weight to the evidence, except from the simplicity of its plain statement that Henry had some time been writing a work which he had now finished, and desired to dedicate to his Holiness. Next we have a letter from Erasmus to Warham, in which he says that he is convinced, from what he has been told by Mountjoy and others about the king, that his Highness did really write the book, which his correspondent seems to have doubted. Next in order comes Henry's direct assertion, called forth by the incredulity of Luther, that he himself and no other wrote the work.

More important evidence is to be found in Fisher's "Defence of the Assertio," where, although he does not actually touch on the question of its authenticity, we frequently come across such expressions as: "Here, reader, is one example which the king himself advanced;" "But let us notice with what ingenuity the king disposes of another argument of Luther's;" "We may here remark the wonderful ingenuity of the king's mind, from his acute discovery that Luther was deceiving himself."*

If any one knew who wrote the "Assertio," Fisher must have done; and here in the most unmistakable language he says the king did. It is often said that Fisher himself was the author of that work, but these passages are almost conclusive against such a view. We may, if we are very sceptical, think that Fisher attributed the work to the king

* Fisher's "Defensio," edit. 1562, pages 14, 83, 84.

from motives of policy, but we cannot believe in a man so humble and honest giving such extravagant praise to his own work under the shadow of the king's name.

The last piece of evidence is from Sir Thomas More, given to Cromwell when More was fallen under the king's displeasure. Being accused of having incited the king to write a book in which he expressed such opinions as were now being used against him by his enemies the papal party, More denied having done so, adding, "By the king's appointment and consent of the makers of the same he was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matters therein contained.* More adds that he wished the king to alter some expressions about the Pope's supremacy, which he considered compromised the independent position the English kings had always held. Henry, however, declined to allow the change, for which he had his own private reasons (to be hereafter considered). From what More says, there is no doubt that the king was active in preparing the work; there is also no doubt that he was not unassisted.

We have two hints of assistants in the matter,—first the mention by Pace of "those who had examined Luther's works," secondly the "makers" of More. How much assistance these subordinates rendered we cannot tell; but the simple fact that they existed disposes of the theory that the "Assertio" was written by Fisher, Wolsey, Lee, More, or any other single author. In an attempt to settle the question of authorship, Mr. Bruce, in his article in the "Archæologia," examined the probabilities for each of these and some others being the real authors, and in every case decided against them. There is now, however, no need for such an exhaustive process. There were evidently several contributors to the book, but the king was the editor; and of some passages at least, we know from what More said, he was the author. The only man besides the king whom we know positively to have had any hand in the book is More, the "sorter out and placer," whose work may have consisted

* Roper's Life of More, edit. 1731, p. 77.

of marshalling the arguments, as Burnet supposed, or of making the index, as Mr. Bruce thought.*

Whether we do or do not believe that Henry VIII. wrote the "Assertio," we cannot deny that he was aware of the sentiments which were to be made public as his own. It may then be worth while to examine the work for the purpose of seeing whether there are any opinions ventilated which foreshadow the great breach so soon to be opened between the king and the Pope. The search, however, is on the whole unsatisfactory, for two reasons. In the first place, Henry devotes himself steadily to his task of refuting and abusing his opponent, and seldom touches on points which bear upon his own future conduct; in the second, there is good reason for believing that he is not always sincere in the opinions he does put forward. The point on which he most damages his reputation is in his remarks upon the Pope's supremacy, which he exalts to an extraordinary, and to an English lawyer's ideas most unconstitutional pitch.

In one of these passages quoted below he expressed himself so unguardedly as to bring a remark from More that he might compromise the independence of Rome which the Church of England then possessed. More himself tells the story as follows :—

"I was myself some time not of the mind that the primacy of that see (Rome) should be begun by the institution of God until that I read in that matter those things that the king's Highness had written in his most famous book against the heresies of Martin Luther. At the first reading whereof I moved the king's Highness either to leave out that point, or else to touch it more slenderly, for doubt of such things as after might hap to fall in question between his Highness and some Pope, as between princes and Popes divers times have done. Whereunto his Highness answered me that he would in no wise anything minish of that matter, of which thing his Highness

* There is no index to the first edition, though there are marginal notes. Probably Mr. Bruce only saw a later edition, but the presumption is against his guess.

showed me a secret cause whereof I never had anything heard before."*

It is not unlikely that the secret cause was an understanding that Henry was to be rewarded for his exertions with the title he afterwards gained on condition of professing great obedience to the Pope; or it may be, as Mr. Seebohm suggests in an article contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* (vol. ix., old series), that the Pope's power was exalted because the validity of Henry's marriage depended upon its being of divine authority. Other accounts of this conversation between the king and More place the king's disingenuous conduct in a very plain light,† showing that he was professing for some reason or another an obedience to the Pope which had not been paid by his predecessors, and which Henry himself had certainly no intention of inaugurating. The passage to which More refers was probably one of the following :—

"I will not wrong the Bishop of Rome so much as troublesomely or carefully to discuss his right (the papal supremacy) as if it were a doubtful matter; . . . all the faithful honour and acknowledge the sacred Roman see for their mother and head. For if those who come hither from the Indies tell us the truth, the Indians themselves separated from us by such a vast distance both of land and sea submit themselves to the Pope . . . . . Since the conversion of the world all churches in the Christian world have been obedient to the see of Rome."

Later on in the same section, that on the Pope's authority, comes a passage which might have been used with telling effect against the author a few years after it was written :—

"Troubling the whole Church as much as he could, and exciting the whole body to rebel against the head, to do which *is as the sin of witchcraft*, and to acquiesce in which *is as the sin of idolatry*. Seeing therefore, that Luther, moved by hatred, rushes headlong to his destruction, and refuses to submit himself to the law of God, but desires to establish a law of his own, *it behoves all Christians to*

* Roper's Life of More. Appendix, No. V.

† Roper, p. 77, edit. 1731.

beware lest, as the apostle says, through the disobedience of one, many be made sinners; but on the contrary, by hating and detesting his wickedness, we may sing with the prophet, *I hated the wicked and loved your law.*"

In the chapter upon extreme unction a similar passage occurs :—

"If he who studies to move a schism in any one thing is to be extirpated with all care, with what great endeavour is he to be rooted out who not only goes about to sow dissension (but) to stir up the people against the chief bishop, children against their parents, Christians against the vicars of Christ; finally, who endeavours to dissolve, by his tumults, brawls, and contentions, the whole Church of Christ!"

The whole chapter on the sacrament of marriage, showing the sanctity of the estate, the indissoluble nature of the bond, and the weight of divine authority with which divorce is forbidden, must have in later years frequently given the royal husband of six wives subjects for most galling reflection. The determination to have a divorce, if not by fair means, then by foul, from Catharine of Aragon, and the unceremonious way in which her successors were got rid of, cannot but cause most unfavourable comparisons to be made between the king's theological opinions and his religious principles.

On the whole, the attempts to glean anything as to Henry's real feelings on the great points which produced the separation of the English Church from that of Rome lead to nothing. They do, however, leave an impression, which is confirmed from another quarter, that the royal author was not honest in his work. He produced a book against Luther in which he inserted passages with respect to the Pope's supremacy which did not represent his opinions, and on which he had no intention of acting. When we inquire why he did this we hear of a secret cause, and when we inquire into this cause we are driven to the conclusion that the king's aim must have been, not simply to refute Luther and assert the cause he wrote for, but also to gain some private end.

In conclusion we may summarize the result of these inquiries as follows :—

(1) With regard to the origin of the title of *Fidei Defensor*, it was bestowed by two Popes on Henry personally, and was made hereditary by Act of Parliament.

(2) With regard to the question whether Henry himself wrote the "Assertio," there is evidence to prove that he was not the sole author, but the same evidence proves that he took a prominent part in the composition of the work, and therefore it is not just to accuse him of putting his name to a book written by some other person.

(3) With regard to the question whether the "Assertio" throws any light on the author's religious career, the inquiry leads to but little : the passages which can be wrung into connection with the subject being few, and the king being willing,—for some unexplained reason,—to express views which it appears he did not hold.

NOTE.—There is nothing in the "Assertio" to confirm Mr. Seebohm's guess that the author wished to magnify the Pope's authority in order to render the validity of his own marriage less doubtful. Except in the special section on the papal power, it is very rarely referred to, and in the chapter on the Sacrament of Marriage the Pope's name is never even mentioned.

THE ADVANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE,

FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO THE TIMES OF CHARLEMAGNE.

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THE "Fall of the Western Empire" was a re-gathering of the Roman world under one Head, administering one Law. The Emperor of the West, Valentinian III. (442), after his peace with Genseric, and before the Council of Chalcedon (451), had promulgated the "Theodosian Code" in Europe; so that the reunion of the empire was in many ways more easy than it might otherwise have been (476).

The Roman Civilization had finally left the old grooves of classic paganism,—for Theodosian law was definitely Christian; but another Pagan ordeal was to try it; not, indeed, the once alarming barbarism of remorseless Huns (destroyed with Attila, who perished after the mysterious check given him by Pope Leo [453] at the gates of Rome), but the mingled semi-Roman, semi-heathen, state of things for which Alaric (408) had prepared Italy when he was induced to make terms with the Empire. The coming barbarians, from Odoacer onwards, gradually incorporated their own laws, as will be seen, with those of Rome.

And not only were other Civilizations to be thus encountered, but, in the three hundred years to Charlemagne, another Religion and another Law, Islam and the Koran. Beyond the Roman world, indeed, there lay remote Religions of untouched

Heathenism, which must one day cross the path of human progress (if our race as a whole is to advance), as in India, China, and the far East; and with these Rome had nothing to do. But there was a Religion to spring up in Arabia, almost in the home of the Caäba, which could never mingle with Rome, and yet would press on all her borders.

In the reign of Theodosius, or even of Justinian, Roman legists might have anticipated an uninterrupted career for their great Codes; but it was not to be, nor ought to have been, for much yet was to be undone in the great Roman Civilization, and much to be newly done, and some things without delay, in that wide sphere, East and West, for which the Theodosian Code was long to provide the social standard.

It will give clearness to our view, if we first mark the territorial limits, and any chief changes, of the sphere of rule which pertained to Rome at the time we are to speak of; we will next give a brief glance at the barbarian forces which impeded and then altered the direction of European progress; and finally we shall refer to the later adaptation of Public Law in the West; for without some consistent Law, society could have no secure existence.

I. The boundaries of the Roman Empire, we begin by observing, were practically the same in the days of Augustus, and of Theodosius, and of Justinian,—about six centuries. The deeper organic changes came after Justinian's death (566).

In the West the outlying parts were already, it is true, beginning to be treated more as allies than subjects; but this always accorded with Roman policy, and it was even a source of strength and success.—Britain had, no doubt, been given up very early (426); yet even there the old civilization was valued; and perhaps in the southern parts of Gaul the Empire attained and long kept its highest cultivation. The Theodosian laws were undoubtedly appreciated in Europe wherever they were known; and they incorporated generally the elder and valued codes of Gregorianus (306) and Hermogenianus (365), as well as the Catholic Discipline of the Church.

In the East, the border-land between the Euphrates and the ever-hostile Persians had always been debatable; but still the defined regions of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, and thence through North Africa, were under the rule throughout of known Imperial law.

In the North, the Danube and the Euxine were the recognised limits; Tiberius refused to allow Germanicus to extend them. On the Rhine and Danube (as on the Euphrates), Augustus had erected lines of forts, and hundreds of towers; and Justinian increased them. In important places were massive walls, as that of Probus (276), from the Rhine to the Danube; or, as in our own country, Hadrian's, of sixty-eight miles, from the Solway to the Tyne (117); or Antoninus's, from the Esk to the Tweed (161).

Some emperors, like Trajan (98), tried to extend the empire; but others found this a mistake. Hadrian, for example, had quickly to withdraw from Mesopotamia and Assyria.—Severus indeed repulsed the "Parthians," and captured Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon (198) in the East, and defeated our Caledonians in the West; but these were passing efforts.—So Aurelian overthrew Zenobia, "Queen of the East," who reigned from Palmyra to Bithynia and Cappadocia; but the result was little more than an honorary "triumph" (270). It was found that the Empire, with its 200,000,000 of the human race, was large enough. As yet (600) within these limits, "Rome" could be stamped on it everywhere.

At Constantinople, the forms and even language of the one great Latin power had continued to be maintained; the Senate and Consulate held on. The laws were still written in Latin.—Belisarius, the defender of the whole Empire (541), whether against Persians in the East or Barbarians in the North and West, was a Roman Consul in the sixth century. That grand Roman world in which lay the active elements of permanent human progress was thus long held together,—defined by the Euphrates and the Atlantic, the Euxine and Danube, and the mountain ranges and deserts of North Africa.

The Roman Imperial Edict called by Hadrian "Perpetual," and the Christian Church acknowledged by Theodosius centuries afterwards in his code as "Catholic," stand already on the frontier line of a new order of things for mankind. We see that the ancient history is at an end, and the modern really begins. Ancient Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Assyria, are to us dead and buried; we may yet examine their tombs, but that is all; while the order of the world which the first Christian century inaugurated, though often much interrupted, and often made to feel its way among countless obstacles, has held its course as if from the first with an indestructible unity of its own, asserting an inner life of freedom, law, and truth.

The integrity of the Roman world, so maintained with success till after Justinian (566), was then marred; and indeed failed for all the rest of the period we are to traverse—*i. e.*, until the rise of Charlemagne threw new life into the West.*

This "integrity of the Empire" may be said, perhaps, to have existed in name, at times, more than in reality; yet it was not without important guiding and steadying effects, both direct and indirect, on Civilization. It was significant, surely, when, even before Odoacer's conquest of Rome, previous invaders had taken the rank of Imperial lieutenants, and when Odoacer (476—493) was quite content to be a Roman "Patrician" and "King of Italy." Not only may the same be said of Theodoric, his successor, the King of the Ostrogoths, but of the second Alaric (484) also; nor was the Roman influence unfelt by later barbarians.—Clovis, who drove Alaric II. from France, acted as friend of the Roman Emperor (507), and apparently of the Theodosian ecclesiastical rules. Clovis, too, was a "Roman consul." Even the Vandals, who passed through Spain (493), and went on to Africa (just imprinting their fierce name on Andalusia), were

* The Emperors reigning at Constantinople (up to the fifteenth century) would not, indeed, recognise this. Even the last, and one of the bravest of them all, Constantine Palæologus (1453), was fain to assert the oneness of the Empire; but the facts were against him.

not independent, but long remained under the awe of the Roman name, and were subjugated at last by Belisarius, emphatically the general of the great Empire, who also reduced to terms Totila the Goth (541).

Doubtless the miseries inflicted on the West, aggravated by the imperial *Henoticon* during those two reigns which intervened between Zeno (474) and Justinian, were such as to make writers like Salvian (493), and after him Gregory of Tours (544), well-nigh despair of Civilization; yet the people, the local masses of the West, were loyal to the imperial laws, and this no doubt contributed much to prolong the unity of the Western Empire, and helped to bear it through crisis after crisis.

If we turn from the West to the East we shall see similar unity,—the encroachments of the Persians being successfully resisted (540); until at last their attention was sufficiently engaged by the Saracens,—who, in their turn, became indeed far more formidable foes of the Christian Empire than Chosroes had been. Thus, then, at the close of the long reign of Justinian, thirty-nine years (566), the Roman world, East and West, was legally and actually a whole.

Then in a very few years the organic changes set in. In the half-century from Justinian to Heraclius (610) we have four Emperors. In the reigns of the first three of them (not twenty years from Justinian), such was the infusion of barbarian usages and dialects that Latin ceased to be the common language of Italy; and in the fourth of these reigns (602) Phocas had the Justinian Code translated into Greek; and Latin was banished from Constantinople. Even the Schools founded there by Justinian did not escape the change.

The great Bishop of Rome, Gregory, witnessed the decay of the old Latin medium of intercourse among his people, and saw the Imperial unity thoroughly shaken; while he did not live even to know (604) the brave though unsuccessful efforts of the Emperor to hold together the Roman dominion. Heraclius was unable,—perhaps as a Monothelite,—to inspire full confidence in the people, who clung still to Theodosian

law. The disintegrating effects also of Arianism, professed for some time by barbarians in the West, were partly repeated in the East, through the fascination exercised by Nestorian and cognate Oriental opinions, on Emperor after Emperor. This may have been among the immediate occasions of the rapid Eastern successes of the invading Mahometanism, which came on like a flood, and was destined there to lay waste the fairest provinces of the Empire.

The Persian war with Rome coincided, in point of time, with the rise of Mahomet,—Arabia, so long left out in all political calculations, now suddenly asserting her power. Heraclius had recovered the Eastern provinces temporarily lost to the Empire, and had carried to Jerusalem the true cross, which had been restored to him; and Persia retired beyond the wall and the fortresses, which she like Rome had built.

Persia hitherto had flourished under the revived Zoroastrian Religion (*third century*), which was some shelter to Judaism; but the war with Rome had now exhausted Persia, and she was an easy prey to the rising Mahometan enthusiasm. The victorious Saracens swept on, we know, from Persia, and achieved new conquests. Heraclius before his death saw Syria and Asia Minor won by them from his Eastern Empire (638); Egypt came next. The Tartar-Turks, whom Heraclius had once placed as his heathen mercenaries in Georgia (626) as a check on Persia, at length swelled the Saracen ranks, and the followers of the "Prophet" went on southward and westward, and soon set Alexandria in flames.

Heraclius could not outlive the loss of that splendid city. With her grand library burnt to the ground at the command of Amrou, the general of Omar (638), the precious records of a long ancient civilization were lost, and for the most part lost for ever.

From Heraclius onward the Empire may be said to be Greek, and only Greek. The whole of North Africa fell to Islam. Donatism (314—414) had long lived there, the most successful of sects, with its hundreds of bishops. All that

remained of Donatism had been extinguished by the Arian Vandals (514); and they in their turn were now met by the on-rolling Saracens; who hastened next to the Arian Goths of Spain, and overran them also; and were only arrested by the Frankish champion of Theodosian law and Christian religion, Charles Martel, at Tours (732).

The old plan of semi-feudal tenure, we may almost call it, which for a time succeeded, as we observed, in holding the Western provinces to the Empire, vanished in the Exarchate and in Lombardy; or lived a new life in the Dukedoms, of which Rome was one, which soon held power under Ravenna and the Lombard kings,—the latter in the reign of Astolphus subduing the former (751); and Charlemagne (774) then conquering both.

Ten Emperors, of whom little need be said, intervened in the century between Heraclius and Leo the Isaurian (716), a vigorous monarch; and then three more,—and Irene.—But nothing could save the Empire.

At the close, it may be remarked, of the eighth century, Islam, as well as the Roman Empire, found itself fatally divided into East and West. The Saracen prosperity began to wane. The Eastern Caliphate had been transferred from Damascus to Bagdat (762), and was held by the great Haroun-al-Raschid; and the Western Caliph, the adventurous Abdul-rahman, ruled at Cordova,—the former an ally, the latter an enemy, of Charlemagne, when he was preparing the final conquest of the Avars, who were a remaining menace to Civilization. The advanced Mahometan position destroyed, no doubt, in great measure, the hopes of the Frankish conqueror, of reviving in his own person the full Empire of Rome. He was crowned, nevertheless, Emperor of Rome (800), by Pope Leo III. But the Greek monarch still remained at Constantinople. The Mahometan progress in Europe had, however, been permanently checked by Charles Martel (732); and Charlemagne came at the right time to re-order awhile the foundations of the common Civilization of Europe; and again rescue also the code of Theodosius.

II. A few words, with as little repetition as may be, must now be given to the Barbarians (of whose incursions we have been freely speaking), so long roving or dwelling beyond the range of the civilized world, East, North, and West.

We have traces even in Scripture of the existence of outlying tribes of men not commonly mingling with the current of history;—the Cainites, Rephaim, Zuzim, Anakim, and others of the past, with "Gog and Magog," perhaps, of the future. The classic historians give us some traces of early barbarian traditions; and in Cæsar and Tacitus we have the nearer story of the Gauls and Germans. And Procopius, Cassiodorus, Jornandes, tell us probably nearly all we now can know of the primitive Goths.

It would seem that the prehistoric home of these various tribes which eventually poured their hosts southward and westward, lay in that vast northern range of territory, now Russian, which lay between the Sea of Kamtschatka in the far east, and the Baltic in the west,—north of the inland seas, the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Aral. The ethnological affinities of these various families seem fairly ascertained.—There were the least tamed of all, the Huns, north of China; many of whom, before the great wall was built, must have become Chinese, in times of which we have no record. Some of them passing into Sogdiana became "White Huns," and still moved south. The "Scythians," from Turkestan to the north-west of the Caspian, had many names, attributable sometimes to the ignorance of the chroniclers, or determined by their situation on this side or the other of the Caucasian range. Some writers find here "Finnish" tribes. So "Sarmatians" seems also to have been a common name of many like families. "Tartar" is almost a generic term. The "Scandinavians" are, again, of many kinds. The "Goths" are distinguished as East or West, the latter settling partly in Gothland, as the Huns in Hungary, the Franks or Allemanni on the Rhine. A common interest, or a contagious instinct at times, would make these races act together for generations under one chieftain or his representatives; and pressed from behind, and

so bound to his fortunes, and flocking to his standard, they would carry allegiance to him westward or southward at his call.

As early as at the beginning of the Augustan age the Huns had attempted to move West. Two centuries later, as if hastening on to a future in which they must needs mingle with more civilized nations, we find them driving other tribes, who had preceded them, beyond the Carpathian mountains. The Goths, too, fled before them, and soon were south of the Danube. So Avars, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, with hordes of minor name, through the prowess of some great leaders, settled themselves in the various lands they deluged ; until displaced by others ; or else subdued by the imperial forces, as were the Sclaves under the generals of Mauritius (587), and so absorbed in the Empire ; or as the Huns by Aëtius,—he finding allies, at the time, in the Goths and Franks, who in their advance had come to have common cause with the Roman Civilization.

The "Franks" (Allemanni), indeed, were a confederation of tribes on the Rhine, to a great extent German, mingled with Saxon and other races. Unlike the other barbarians, who at first were commonly and perhaps naturally Arian, the Franks had received the Christianity of the Roman codes. They were Catholic—one secret probably of their success,—while the Goths and others had been in some degree Christianized before the Theodosian times ; and their own old mythology of gods and demigods had not disinclined them to accept forms of our religion which assigned less than Supreme Divinity to Christ. But Christ was actually worshipped among them ; and the historical Sacraments were a common bond. Thus Arianism faded, and among the people amalgamated with the Theodosian or Catholic civilization it followed the prevalent course of Christian belief in the West. The Franks soon, indeed, destroyed the Goths as settlers in Southern France, and drove them into Spain. The Alans and Vandals, also Arian, had preceded them there ; and the former were extirpated, while the latter, as we saw, passed on into Africa.—

The Goths were in Spain some 300 years; until driven out or subjugated by the Saracens;—the Saracens keeping their hold 700 years.

III. This moral "Shaking of the Nations," "Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free," did not, however, destroy the Roman Legislation, Rome's great work for humanity; (though physical volcanic eruptions, on the contrary, may seem for ages to have wrought ruin in other departments of Civilization). For while the vast changes were proceeding, much, it will be seen also, was destroyed which must ultimately have hindered true progress; though so much certainly that we may regret. And was it not well for man, that the strong barbarism of North and East should then be drawn out of its fastnesses, and "flow down" to the Roman-Christian Civilization,—to be itself morally conquered at last? Would any minor convulsions (we may ask) have achieved the result?

And further, we must not exaggerate our facts, by omitting to consider other facts. There is something impressive in the thought that while this series of outbreaks was going on, a reliant and calm attitude was maintained by the administrative powers of the Roman tribunals, in a vast area of their million-peopled dominion, which lay out of the main route of the destroyers. Thus in the year 451, while the Huns were doing their awful work in the cities of Europe, the Council of Chalcedon in the East decreed that the Church should everywhere make her subdivisions of Dioceses conterminous with those of the Empire; not knowing how far the Empire was failing, and that the Church ("against which nothing could prevail") would so frequently find devolved on her alone the sacred task of mediating with barbarism, and holding together the otherwise helpless Civilization.

The retirement of so many Christians (far from an unmixed good) into the Monasteries which sprung up in remote places in the fourth and following centuries, though intended at first for the personal devotion and discipline of the Christian recluses, had the greatest use in Civilization, not only as providing

refuges for much of the literature and knowledge of former times, but as bonds of union with the past. The barbarians, too, respected them, for the barbarians now were frequently semi-Christian. The historian Orosius, *e. g.* (and so St. Augustine also) even praises the forbearance of the Arian Alaric. Totila visited, and was not uninfluenced for the moment by St. Benedict, at Monte Cassino (542).

Then there could have been few Schools, be it remembered, but for the Monasteries. The local authority of Law, too, would frequently have been unknown but for the Bishops who held position as magistrates. The Archbishop of Ravenna was even Exarch.

The indomitable faith of Christians, as to their Religious future, was showing itself also, as amidst the fires and amidst many drawbacks, in the work of great Missionaries like Boniface.

Certainly it was in the East, rather than in the West, that the Imperial Civilization was first really lost; when Caliphs, *e.g.*, could use Nestorian Christians as ministers of their polity, and the father of St. John of Damascus, and even St. John himself at first, had been prime ministers there, in the 50th year of the Hegira! (672).

In the Barbarians of the West there were also some elements of the best Civilization comparatively unknown in the East. We must remember, notwithstanding the slavery among them, their real and vigorous Freedom, in which the nations fostered under the Romans were even increasingly deficient; and we may recall some other manly and generous characteristics, which over-mastered much of the barbarian sternness. This appeared not only on great occasions, but especially, from time to time, as they made terms with the inhabitants of the soil among whom they settled. And an indirect consequence followed. By conceding as much as they did to the Theodosian Christian Law everywhere, it happened that (after St. Gregory's efforts in the sixth century) Arianism became as much a sect outside the church as Nestorianism, and some other phases of partly formed belief. This contributed union of tone to the

Civilization. Emperors like Justinian (553), and long after him Constantine Pagonatus, acting in the interests (680) of the Empire alone, had determined that the Religious settlement of the first General Councils should not be politically disturbed. Neither the compromise of Heraclius (641), the "*Ekthesis*," nor that of his grandson Constans II., the "*Typus*," availed with the people in the least to disarrange the broad Legislation of the Codes. Nor would later Imperial Religious changes probably have been attempted, as they were, (much to the neglect of the West), but for the pressure from time to time of Mahometan invasion, more friendly to Arian and Nestorian than to what they called "Melchite" opinion.

Besides the general tone thus noted, there are the Laws of the invading western nations to be considered.

Much of the barbarian law in the West, no doubt, was unwritten traditional custom; but we have abundant remains of their laws early committed to writing. Terasson's "*Histoire*" gives us a good index to these.—The *Salic Laws*, for example, the code of the Salian Franks, probably as old as the time of Theodosius himself,—said to have been written in Latin; the *Ripuarian* law, so called as existing among the nations bordering on the west bank of the Rhine; the *Lex Romana Burgundiorum* (501), which ruled from the Rhone to the Alps; and others. The *Lex Romana Visigothorum* of Alaric II. (496), confirmed by his bishops and magnates, was an effort to suit the new settlers to the Roman habits. In Spain, Bishops in council often arranged the Laws. The Arian Lombards, who had their own Code, still granted large freedom to the Theodosian, and (dropping their Arianism), existed side by side with the Roman Law; as took place also in the Exarchate of Ravenna, till the final conquest by Charlemagne.

Thus, while all the changes in the West tended to uphold the Roman-Christian civilization, all the changes in the East, as we have seen, narrowed it, after the unfortunate Græcizing of the Oriental Christianity, and its invasion by the Religion and Law of Mahomet. It may have been inevitable from the time

of Phocas (602), who had seen Latin cease to be the vernacular even in Italy; and still more so after the extension of Mahometanism in the East. Still the fact was pregnant with subtle results. While the shut-up Greek civilization was further curtailed, and tended to stagnate, the West, simply absorbing Theodosian Christianity (lib. xvi.), was acquiring new energy, not parting with the old Latinity, but giving it dignity as the medium of Worship and law and learning; while ordinarily adopting the newly spoken tongues, which had a sure future, and would take the world with them.

The fate of the great Justinian Code itself, which in its Greek form could never prevail in the Empire at large, is strangely typical of the destiny of the entire Greek Empire. It faded away, or lived only in transmuted forms. The Schools of Law, once founded at Constantinople and Berytus, as well as Rome, found their old occupation was gone. The translations of the Institutes by Theophilus, of the Code by Theodore, and of the Digest by Thalalæus and his coadjutors, superseded the original. By the middle of the seventh century the administration of Latin law was ceasing even in the Exarchate.—The Latin text of the Pandects at length was actually lost; until almost accidentally discovered at Amalphi (1138) in the twelfth century.

The Emperor Basil, and his son Leo the Philosopher, made an abridgment (910) of the Greek version of the Code, called the "Basilica," which was the law commonly administered by the Emperors till the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453).*

One important change must be recognised in the East, which lasts even now in some places. The conquered provinces under the Caliphs used the Bishops of the Christian Church

* From what remains of this book we see that a kind of philosophical arrangement of subjects was attempted. It begins with God, Righteousness, Law, &c., and then goes on to Constitutions and Rescripts, and descends into details, both Secular and Ecclesiastical. Then follow Regulations as to Commerce, Property, Labour, the Family, Wills, and so on.—But this all belongs to a later time.

(who often had been magistrates under the Empire) as civil administrators to their co-religionists of the various Rites, only retaining in the State the right of investiture. This was in some sort a necessity on both sides ; (sadly reconciling the Greeks to their captivity at times,)—for Islam had not that inner vitality essential to all true government.

Thus has the East moved on to its destiny, which even now is being slowly worked out, while, as Berkeley expresses it,—

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

We here must leave at present our attractive subject, "the advance of the Christian civilization from the fall of the West to Charlemagne." Thenceforth it was to enter on a fresh career, of which we see in this outline so many of the elements.

Franco-Germany—(regenerated by "the twelve British apostles," as they have been called, the great teachers, almost comrades, of our illustrious Alcuin)—is the next scene that opens before history.—Charles, the master of the subsiding chaos, is the central figure, and in the group we have the Revised Law, and the new-created Schools and Universities, and then some returning Civil unity of civilization—all belonging to another era, reminding us that the human race had taken a fresh point of departure.

But in the great story of Civilization, the East has not yet finally separated from the West. There is next an intermediate dispensation of ecclesiastical adjustments, and then the Crusade period, in which they look very closely at one another once more ; after which, indeed, the East and West gravitate in very different directions ; and other scenes open before us.

But if history has any meaning, it should teach us that Civilization is not a creation, but a growth, a cultivation.

The 800 years, which we have looked at, contain something more, too, than the ambitions of tyrants, and the sufferings of peoples. In them we have been watching the onward struggle

of the human race. It is the one same great problem that is being worked out,—how to attain for man a higher and better future? St. Augustine, seeing the darkness of the opening fifth century, was driven to write his "City of God." He did not solve the earthly problem. We have seen more of it than he saw. In the yet deeper agony of Civilization from the fifth century to the ninth, in the serpent coils of crime and barbarism, (sometimes like "Laocöon's torture, dignifying pain"),—we have learned more of that unrolling panorama which is hoped to reveal, at length, Polity and Religion in a peace which may be the "Sabbath made for man." We may be living but as in the midst of our Apocalypse now. We are waiting to know what is the best form of Civil and Religious development in this transition state of ours from the temporal to the Eternal,—what the true "Επὶ γῆς Εἰρήνη," what the πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

It is not possible to think that this long series of Providences in the Church and the world have no meaning, in their relation to the destiny of man. Events seemed in the first centuries actually to work of themselves to the one end, an end not meant by statesmen or Churchmen,—to make *Christianity* the Religion of the Empire; and the later ages, by the very course of things, with no apparent design, rightly or wrongly, determined themselves in fact to the *Church.*

So in the various changes of the barbarian invasions, there was no effort to construct Society apart from Religion, and except among Cœnobites and Solitaries no Religious attempts to separate from Civil and Political association. Though the military character of all the governments might be impatient of ecclesiastical trammels, and though the spiritual claims of all religions might have a tendency to retreat from secular contact, the two really kept together. The Monastic retirements of the fourth and fifth and sixth centuries did not disarrange the ecclesiastical and civil organization which helped to hold the world together. Even when the Empire, for reasons of its own, twice abandoned Rome as a political centre (339 and 450), the Church was slow in supplying the *hiatus.*

Nearly 400 years passed between Innocent's delivering Rome from Alaric (410) and Leo III.'s crowning Charlemagne (800). In those centuries it would need microscopic eagerness to detect a shadow of any ecclesiastical ambition to supersede the Empire. In some form the Empire was so far owned supreme even when archbishops were exarchs. The Emperor even had ceased to give his confirmation to the election of the Roman Bishop during the time of Pope Leo II. (680); and Rome, neglected by the East from the time of Constantine Copronymus, was more regarded as a distinct Republic; and yet it needed another century for the popular feeling to ratify, as it did, such an act of authority as Leo III.'s, disregarding Constantinople and creating an "Emperor" of Rome; and even then the issue of events was very incomplete. Charlemagne of course could not allow state-independency to the Papacy; while still the Papacy was too important to be left out of his plans. Patriarchs at Constantinople had consecrated Emperors in the East; and Leo might do it in the West, though with more independence; but Charlemagne still was Patrician of Rome and king of Italy.

The fact is, as events will show, Charlemagne and Leo were essential to each other. Each had a mission; nor can we well see how Europe could then have developed without either. But beyond this, which is not speculation, but mere history, there is a further truth of which this is but a symbol.

States must have Law, and law implies right, and right must rest on principle. And at this point there is a tendency of both moral and social Right and Religion to coalesce,—although they refuse to be confounded,—in every Civilization.

ORIGINAL RECORDS RESPECTING THE PLAGUE IN THIS COUNTRY.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.,
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We have accounts of the reappearance of the plague on the continent of Europe, which, if they do not create actual alarm, are at any rate calculated to excite a strong interest about it, more especially as regards the precautionary and other measures which were adopted in this country on the occasion of its former visitations. To some of the official documents recording these proceedings I have been allowed to have access, and I propose now to lay before you a few extracts from them.

The following record is contained in the "Book of Pleas" kept in the Guildhall at Norwich :—

"In the year of our Lord 1349 God Almighty visited mankind with a deadly plague, which began in the south parts of the world, and went through even the northern parts thereof, attacking all nations of the world. This plague equally destroyed Christians, Jews, Saracens, killed the confessor and the confessed. In many places this plague did not leave the fifth part of the people. It struck the world with great fear; so great was the pestilence that the like was never seen, heard, nor read of before, for it was believed that there was not a greater number of souls destroyed by the flood in the days of Noah than died by this plague."

From the "Institution Book" at Norwich of this time it appears that the clergy died so fast that they were obliged to admit numbers of youths that had only devoted themselves for clerks by being shaven to be rectors of parishes; and

accordingly a bull of Pope Clement to the Bishop of Norwich dispensed with sixty clerks, though they were only "shavelings," and but twenty-one years of age, to hold livings, no less than 1,000 parish churches being void of incumbents in that diocese.

The following ordinance was made by the Corporation of Winchester in the year 1583 :—

"That if any house within this cytie shall happen to be infected with the plague, that thene everye person to keepe within his or her house every his or her dogge, and not to suffer them to goe at large. And if any dogge shall be then found abroad at large, it shall be lawful for the Beadle or any other persone to kill the same dogge. And that any owner of such dogge going at large shall lose 6s., to be levied and divided as aforesaid."

The following entry is contained in the Register of the parish of Dunchurch in Warwickshire, a village which stood on the great road from London to Birmingham, and was therefore exposed to having people pass through it who had lately quitted London while it was visited by the plague :—

"In the year 1625 there was a great plague in London, which swept away above 34,000 persons. Some people flying from the pestilential air of London died in Dunchurch, and were buried by the vicar's side land in Long-field."

There is a tradition that Leamington Hastings, which is a village near Dunchurch, and which lies out of the high road, was also visited by the plague; and the spot is still pointed out where the remains of those who died of it were buried.

The following is extracted from the Vestry Minutes of St. Martin's in the Fields for the year 1625 :—

"Thomasin Morris, widow, Elizabeth Collins, widow, and Catharine Rile, wife of Richard Rile, appointed searchers to view the bodies of all persons deceased in the parish, and truly to certify of what disease every one hath died, as well as they can, especially to report truly all that happen to die of the plague. And touching their habitation, it is ordered that Goodwife Ellis shall leave the apartment wherein she is now joined in with Goodwife Shepherd, and go down to Goodwife Collins into the lower room, there to dwell together

with her, and they are sent to Sir Thomas Wilson to be sworn. And it is thought fit that a competent piece of ground, parcel of the ground adjoining to the military yard about the middle top, be enclosed for the dwelling and abiding of such persons as shall be appointed bearers and buriers of such as shall die of the plague in this parish.

"Item. Whereas there are examiners to be appointed for the better observing of order during this time of the contagious infection, who are to be persons of discreet and sober government; it is thought fit that Henry Tryold, Thomas Potter, and Francis Read be examiners to inquire of such houses as it shall please Almighty God to visit with the plague in this parish, and otherwise to do what employment as by the orders made within the City of London, and otherwise by statute appointed in that behalf, they shall be directed, and were sent to Sir Thomas Wilson, Knight, to be sworn."

As far as I can trace it, the last time that the plague was known to be in this country was in the year 1667, two years after the great plague of London; and the last place in which it appeared was *Nottingham.* And it is a singular circumstance that though, as we are told, at Derby no tanner's house was visited by the plague, yet at Nottingham the plague prevailed chiefly in the neighbourhood of the tanyards, which were in the lower street of the town. There huts were ordered to be prepared for the infected, especially below the castle; swine were ordered to be kept up; all the dogs and cats were ordered to be killed, for fear they should carry the infection about, and the goose fair was ordered to be held in a different part of the town from that in which it had usually taken place, for fear of bringing in infection.*

* From the "Corporation Records of Nottingham."

THE IRISH MONKS AND THE NORSEMEN.

By HENRY H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.

In a previous paper I have endeavoured to give a picture of Scotland in the dark period of its history preceding the 9th century, and to describe the constitution of the early Columban clergy who did so much to Christianize and civilize it. I also gave such an account as our frail materials would enable me of the destruction and ravaging of the settlements of the monks by the Norsemen. I now propose to give a parallel picture of the early monks in Ireland and to describe how they also were the victims of the same famous rovers, and I venture to hope that a subject so little explored may not be unwelcome to the Historical Society.

Ireland may fairly be called the foster-mother of western Monachism. It was crowded with monasteries, which were swept away terribly by the pirates. They were generally situated on the main land, but most of the little islands on the coast were also dotted with them. The Arran islands off the coast of Galway were among the first so occupied. We are told that Enda, one of the introducers of monkery into Ireland—

"Having received a grant of the Island of Arran from King Angus of Munster, collected a company of disciples and divided the island into ten parts, in which he constructed ten monasteries . . and he founded his own monastery at the east end of the island, which is still called the cell of Saint Enda. This island is now known as Ara na Navach, or Arran of the Saints. Tory Island, off the north-west coast, Rechru, off the north east, Rechru or Lambay,

in the Irish Channel, and other small islands became likewise the seats of similar foundations. Of the twelve Apostles of Ireland we find that three, Molaisse of Devenish, Senel of Cluaininnis, and Nenith of Inismacsaint, founded their chief monasteries on three small islands in Loch Erne; and on two other islands in the same lake there were also monasteries. In Lough Ree, a lake formed by the Shannon, there were five, and in Lough Corrib and Lough Derg, both also formed by the Shannon, there were in the former, three, and in the latter two monasteries. Wherever the river Shannon in its course formed a small island there was also a monastery; and the number of these island monasteries, throughout Ireland generally was very great."—Skene, *op. cit.* 2, 62 and 63.

In trying to realize the condition and aspect of the early ecclesiastical foundations in Ireland we must remember that the history of the Church there was marked by singular conservatism. The earlier foundations were models rigidly followed, and fortunately the available material for illustrating the subject is abundant. At the time of St. Patrick's mission we find Ireland parcelled out among a number of clans, subject to particular chieftains owning a more or less definite allegiance to the general over-kings who belonged to the great race of the O'Neill's. These chieftains lived in fortresses, the remains of some of which subsist in the Arran islands and elsewhere and have been generously illustrated by Lord Dunraven. When one of the missionaries converted the clan in a district, he was often granted one of the fortresses within which to plant his settlement. Thus the church of Donaghpatrick at Tailtenn, was built in the fortress which had formerly belonged to Conall, the king's brother, which was made over to St. Patrick for the purpose. So we are told, in the life of Saint Benin or Benignus, that his church was erected within the arx or fortress of Dun Lughaidh belonging to a lord of the country, who, having been baptized with his father and four brothers, gave up their dun or fortress for the purpose (Petrie, *op. cit* 442). We are similarly told in the life of St. Caillin, that Aodh Finn the son of Feargna, chief of the country of Breifny, on his

conversion by that saint gave up to him his *Cathair* or stone fortress in which to erect his monastic buildings (*id.*). The fortress of Muirbheach Mil, in the Great Isle of Arran, which dates from the heroic period of Irish history, contains two churches within its enclosure (*id.* 444). When there was no such fortress to start with, one was invariably built, and this was the great and marked feature of the old Irish monastery, to be found not only in Ireland but wherever Irish monks planted their colonies, at Iona and Lindisfarne as much as at Armagh. The enclosing rampart when made of stone or of earth faced with stone, was called a *Cathair*, *i. e.*, stone enclosure, or *Cashel*, which is a mere corruption of castellum, a fortress. When made of earth only, the enclosure was called a *Lis* or *Rath* (*id.* 440). Few remains of the latter kind are now found, but several of the former remain, and we have no difficulty in understanding their structure. I shall avail myself of Dr. Petrie's and Lord Dunraven's admirable works in describing them.

In the famous tripartite life of Saint Patrick, the diameter of the enclosing rampart at the Ferta, near Armagh, was fixed at 140 feet, and this became the standard measurement for ecclesiastical cashels, which were more or less circular in shape.

Otherwise these structures were just like the military enclosures. The masonry of the earliest of these buildings is of a very rude primitive type, without cement and for the most part built of untooled stones. These cashels are built, says Miss Stokes, of stones varying in size according to the districts where they are found, often from 5 to 9 feet long, and 3 feet deep. Each wall consists of a central core of rough rubble, faced on both sides by stones carefully chosen and laid so as to produce an even surface. These facing stones are set in endwise with their small ends outside. The walls are about 13 feet in height. Unlike the rude camps of Britain where the entrances are mere gaps in the bank, the Irish cashels, both military and ecclesiastical, have formed-doorways with inclined sides and horizontal lintels varying in depth according to the

thickness of the walls, and roofed by a series of stone slabs like the earlier mortuary galleries in Britanny. In some cases a reveal in the centre of the passage shows that it was occasionally furnished with double doors, which were also fastened with bolts or rather bars of wood, the holes for the reception of which may still be seen. The door is sometimes approached by a passage between two walls formed of long stones set upright, a feature which is seen in the entrance of St. Brendan's Oratory. Platforms, offsets, or banquettes ran along the inner sides of the walls, to which four, sometimes even ten, independent flights of steps gave access (Dunraven and Stokes, *op. cit.* 2, 136). Similar cashels occur across the Irish Channel. Bede tells us St. Fusey's Monastery in Suffolk was built in a castrum, and he describes the cashel built by St. Cuthbert on the island of Lindisfarne as made of sods and stones so large that five men could hardly lift them, and as being nearly round, 4 or 5 perches in diameter, with a wall inside higher than the outside (Bede "Eccl. Hist.," chap. 19, & "Vita Sti. Cuthberti," chap. 19, sec. 30). Such was then the rampart of these western monasteries which gave them an idiosyncrasy of their own, and whose peculiarities were not imported but strictly of home growth. Let us now turn to the contents of the enclosures—the monastic buildings which they girdled. In order to understand these we must rid ourselves altogether of the notion that a monastery must necessarily be after the type which is so well known in England and elsewhere where monachism looked up to St. Benedict and his rule as its source. The monks of Ireland traced their pedigree directly to the hermits of the Egyptian desert and their colonies at Lerins and Marmoutier, and their societies were consequently modelled on an entirely different plan. In the former the monks all lived together under one roof and led a common life. In the latter the abbot, monks and priests each lived in separate cells where they provided for themselves, while the other buildings such as the churches, oratories, kitchens, refectories, etc., were all separate buildings. The Irish monastery was an aggregation of hermits

in fact, and was of the class called a Laura, a name derived from the street Laura or Lubra, at Alexandria, where there was a monastery (Petrie, 416 and 417).

A very typical specimen of the ancient Irish monastery survives in the almost inaccessible island of Ard Oilean or High Island, off the coast of Connemara, which is thus described by Dr. Petrie :—

"Ard Oilean or High Island is situated about six miles from the coast of Connemara and contains about eighty acres. From its height and the overhanging character of its cliffs, it is only accessible in the calmest weather, and even then the landing, which can only be made by springing on a shelving portion of the cliff from the boat, is not wholly free from danger."

The church there is of the very rudest and most primitive type, and only twelve feet long by ten wide, and ten feet high ; the doorway is two feet wide, and four feet six inches high, with a cross on its horizontal lintel. The east window, the only one in the building, is but a foot high and six inches wide, and semicircular headed.

"The altar still remains and is covered with offerings such as nails, buttons, and shells, but chiefly fishing-hooks, the most characteristic tributes of the calling of the votaries."

On the east side of the chapel is an ancient stone sepulchre, like a pagan kistvaen, composed of large mica slates, with a cover of limestone. The stones at the end are rudely sculptured with ornamental crosses and a human figure, and the covering slab was also carved and probably was inscribed with the name of the saint for whom the tomb was designed, who was probably the founder. The chapel is surrounded by a wall allowing a passage of four feet between them, and from this a covered passage, about fifteen feet long by three feet wide, leads to a cell, which was probably the abbot's habitation and which is nearly circular and dome-roofed and measures internally seven feet by six, and eight feet high. On the east side is a larger cell, externally round but internally a square of nine feet, and seven feet six inches in height. This

was probably the kitchen. On the other side of the chapel are a number of smaller cells which are only large enough to contain a single person. They are but six feet long, three feet wide, and four feet high. There is also a covered gallery or passage twenty-four feet long, four feet wide, and four feet six inches high, with an entrance but two feet three inches square, which Dr. Petrie suggests was a storehouse for provisions.

"The whole of these buildings," he says, "were surrounded by a cashel 108 feet in diameter, outside of which on each side of the entrance were circular buildings, probably intended for the use of pilgrims; within the enclosure are several rude stone crosses probably sepulchral, and flags sculptured with rude crosses but without inscriptions. There is also a granite globe measuring about twenty inches in diameter. In the surrounding ground there are several rude stone altars, or penitential stations, on which are small stone crosses; and on the south side of the enclosure there is a small lake, apparently artificial, from which an artificial outlet is formed, which turned a small mill; and along the west side of this lake there is an artificial stone path or causeway, 220 yards in length, which leads to another stone cell or house of an oval form, at the south side of the valley in which the monastery is situated. This house is eighteen feet long and nine wide (it was probably a granary or barn), and has a small walled enclosure joined to it which was probably a garden. There is also adjoining to it a stone altar surmounted by a cross, and a small lake, which like that already noticed seems to have been formed by art" (*id.* 420, 421).

This gives a good general view of an Irish Laura. It is clear that each member of the community lived apart from his neighbour, and that the whole institution was modelled on the plan of the Egyptian hermitages. Before we consider the several buildings in detail there is a preliminary question which must be decided. One of the most inveterate traditions among the students of Irish antiquities down to recent times was, that the Irish had in early days no stone buildings, and that all their early churches were made of wood. This seemed to be supported by some well-known passages in Bede and the

Irish writings. Bede, in describing St. Aidan's Church at Lindisfarne, says—

"fecit Ecclesiam Episcopali sedi congruam, quam tamen *more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto* totam composuit atque harundine texit" (Bede, "Hist. Eccl." iii., 25).

In the life of St. Monenna, written by Conchubran in the twelfth century, and quoted by Archbishop Usher, we have the phrase—

"S. Monennæ monasterio Ecclesiam constructam fuisse notat Conchubranus *tabulis de dolatis, juxta morem Scoticarum gentium; eo quod macerias Scoti non solent facere, nec factas habere Primordia*, 737." (Petrie, *op. cit.*, 123.)

Again, when St. Malachy proposed to build a stone oratory at Bangor, his design was resisted as a novelty; "Scoti sumus non Galli," said his opponent (Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," 394, note). In the face of these statements it is strange that the evidence should be so overwhelming that the Irish from the earliest Christian times used stone for many of their ecclesiastical buildings, a position which, since the great work of Dr. Petrie, does not admit of controversy. The evidence he has collected is unanswerable. The explanation may perhaps be sought in two directions. It seems probable if we examine the pagan remains of Ireland that certain districts were characterized by the presence of stone structures, while in others they were absent and were apparently replaced by wood, and wattles, and earth.

The former prevailed in the north and west, and the latter in the south and east, and may be rudely tracked out by the presence of the various topographical names compounded with "rath" and "lis." It may be that this distribution coincided with the presence or absence of suitable stone, or the abundance or scarcity of wood as seems to have been the case on this side of the Irish Channel, where we have large districts characterized by houses made of timber, and so-called daub and whattle, and not houses only but churches also, three of which survive within easy distance of where I am writing this paper. Or it may be

as Dr. Petrie argues, that the tribes or races of the Firbolgs and the Tuath de Danan were accustomed to build not only their fortresses but even their dome-roofed houses and sepulchres of stone without cement, and in the style now usually called Cyclopean and Pelasgic (*op. cit.*, 124). Elsewhere in Ireland, no doubt the dwellings were made of wood, mud, or sods, and thatched, as is still the fashion in many districts there and in the Hebrides.

It would seem that when the early missionaries planted their religious colonies in Ireland, they adopted very largely the antecedent modes of building in use in the districts where they settled, and it is thus curious to read that St. Patrick himself built a church at Foirrgea of moist earth, because wood was not to be found there, "fecit ibi ecclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam quia non prope erat silva" (*id.* 123). The names of his three stonemasons, namely, Cæmar, Cruithnech, and Luchraid, who are said to have been the first to build damliags or stone churches in Ireland are recorded; we know further that St. Ninian's church at Whithern, as well as the numerous Treen chapels in the Isle of Man and the solitary chapel dedicated to St. Patrick, in Lancashire, were made of stone. Fashion, too, probably interfered. St. Columba and his scholars, who traced their origin perhaps more directly to Tours and Lerins and Marmoutier, preferred the ephemeral buildings which were patronized by the hermits of the desert, and which had been typified by the dwellings of leaves and boughs in which the Israelites lived in the wilderness, and as they became the chief missionaries of Scotland and North Britain they introduced this ascetic fashion with them which thus became associated with Scotic Christianity. These dwellings of wood occupied us in our previous paper, and we may now consider those of stone. There were, as I have said, imitations of the pagan structures already existing. "The churches, &c., were built of uncemented stones admirably fitted to each other, and their lateral walls converging from the base to their apex in curved lines, with their end walls converging also, though in a less degree, and having no resemblance to continental buildings,

nor showing any acquaintance with the arch. The only innovation introduced in the Christian buildings was that the churches were made of a quadrangular shape, and many buildings round outside were square inside, while the previous structures had been round or oval, both internally and externally" (*id.* 126). This change, as Dr. Petrie says, is referred to in the very early life of St. Patrick, by St. Evin, perhaps dating from the sixth century where the pagan Magus, Con, is made to predict among other innovations that their buildings would be quadrangular: "ædes ejus erunt angustæ et *angulatæ* et fana multa" (*op. cit.* 129). Let us now examine the construction of these buildings in greater detail.

The most important part of the establishment was of course the church, which among these intensely conservative communities followed not only the shape but also the dimensions prescribed by St. Patrick for his original foundation. These churches were always small. The exception quoted by Dr. Petrie of the great church of the primatial see of Armagh, which according to one translation was 140 feet long, clearly depends on a faulty rendering of the original, where the 140 feet refers no doubt to the diameter of the cashel. The fact is that the cathedral and abbey churches of Ireland before the 12th century rarely or never exceeded the length of sixty feet, which was the length prescribed by St. Patrick for his church at Donaghpatrick, near Tailteann, which was also the length, according to a very old tradition, of the oldest church at Glastonbury, one of the earliest British churches (Skene, *op. cit.* 192-3). Dr. Petrie concludes that the majority if not all of the large cathedral or abbatial churches in Ireland were damliags, *i. e.*, made of stone (*id.* 156). The oldest churches were simple oblong quadrangles, with square east ends. The semicircular apse so characteristic of the Continental basilicas and early churches was entirely unknown; "they had rarely more than a single entrance, placed in the centre of the west end." The windows was frequently triangular headed, but more usually arched semicircularly; while the doorway, on

the contrary, was covered by a horizontal lintel, consisting "of a single stone. In all cases the sides of the doorways and windows inclined, like the doorways in the oldest remains of Cyclopean buildings" (Petrie, *op. cit.* 159). The walls were formed like those of the cashels, of very large polygonal stones carefully adjusted to each other, both on the inner and outer faces, while the interior was filled up with rubble and grouting (*id.* 159). The east walls were pierced with an extremely rude east window, either square or round headed; if the latter, the arch wasmerely scooped out of a single stone.

"There is always a broad internal splay, and the aperture is generally on the face of the outside wall, but in some instances the window is set in the thickness of the walls, and expands both outside and inside. The apertures in these windows rarely exceed nine inches. The roof of the smaller churches, as in the case of the Numidian buildings described by Sallust, is in the form of an upturned boat, and made by the gradual projection of one stone beyond the other, till the walls meet in one flag at the apex" (Dunraven and Stokes, *op. cit.* 136—138).

In many cases the walls sloped inwards from their very foundations in a curve until they met in the ridge, and as in the case of the oratory at Gallarus, &c., so in all roofs, may be said to be in fact a vaulting, not placed on walls but standing directly on the ground, and having a most Cyclopean and solid appearance. In other cases the slope of the vault commenced at some height from the ground, and was a proper roof. These stone vaults were only used in the lesser churches; the larger ones were always of wood covered with shingles, straw, reeds, and perhaps sometimes with lead (Petrie, 160).

In these earliest buildings the only thing in the shape of an ornament was a cross made of five or seven quartz stones, whose whiteness stood out in strong contrast against the dark slate of which the walls were often built, and which were set over the doorway.

These oblong buildings, with high pitched roofs and finials on the gables, followed the traditional form of the ark,

that building in which the church was rescued from the flood.

Numerous examples of the type may be seen in the richer foreign sacristies, such as that at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the silver and the jewelled shrines containing the bones of famous saints.

The buildings we have described were essentially the building of the fifth and sixth centuries. In the seventh and eighth a marked progress seems to have been made in architectural knowledge. This was shown by the introduction of cement or mortar in more or less abundance in the buildings.

"The cement of the earliest builders," says Miss Stokes, "on the sea-coast often largely contained shells and sea sand, while inland a compound of mud and gravel was used. In many cases the walls seem to have been first built, and then this composition was poured on in a liquid state, to filtrate through from the top; later on the wall was well built with two faces, and a rubble core grouted in a similar manner, while in the time of Cormac O'Killen we have the stones well bedded in mortar. The archaistic and so-called Cyclopean character of this masonry, especially in the limestone districts, is very striking, even though cement be used. The great stones, varying from ten and even seventeen feet to eight and six feet in length, are often dovetailed, and fitted into one another, as the great stones above the lions gate at Mycenæ, and polygonal masonry often appears in company with ashlar, while ashlar is seen occasionally superimposed by rubble and wide-jointed irregular courses of stone" (*op. cit.* 144).

This reminds one of the incongruous masonry of the existing walls of Rome, where the beautiful work of the republic and the early empire is covered with the rude masonry of the later empire and the barbarians. Conjointly with the improvement in the masonry, there was a marked advance in the architectural features of the buildings; architraves, sometimes double and sometimes single, were added to the door. In many instances a reveal on the inside may be seen with stone sockets above or in the lintel, which were appliances for the shutter that took the place of a door; a plinth was added to the walls, con-

sisting of a square plain projecting face at the bottom of the walls close to the ground, while pilasters or square buttresses were added to the corners of the building. These only occur at the angles, "and are mere prolongations of the side walls in the primitive churches, and are sometimes continued all along, the gable, as in Inis Mac Dara, or along a portion of it, as at Kilmalkedar" (*id.* 145). In the corners also, but close to the roof, are projecting brackets, which no doubt, as Miss Stokes suggests, were originally meant as pegs, by means of which a covering of sods or thatch was tied down on the roof, and were probably afterwards retained as ornamental features, like gargoyles at the corners of the buildings (*id.* 138 and 146).

A very important innovation was the introduction of the chancel, which, when it occurs in the older churches, we find is not bonded into the nave, showing it was an after addition. There was no rule as to its relative size, and sometimes it was almost as large as the nave, and it is impossible now to decide whether there was any difference between them in the roof. With the chancel was apparently introduced the use of the arch. There is but one example, says Miss Stokes, of a chancel arch built in the primitive style—one stone overlapping another till the sides meet at the apex,—and this is at St. Kevins, Glendalough (*op. cit.* I., xix.).

The earliest arches were semicircular and sprang from jambs, which inclined like the sides of the doorways. The earliest of them were without imposts, consisting of a single sweep or soffit only, no sub-arch, and no moulding, or even chamfer, but with the voussoirs dressed and fitted with skill. These elements were gradually added. The size of the arches varies from nine to ten feet in width, and twelve to thirteen feet high. In some cases the arch is set back from the jambs from which it springs. At first there is no impost, then a rude impost formed of an unsquared block of stone, as at Kilmacduach in Arran, and then appears the chamfered impost as at Oughtmama. With the introduction of the chancel arose the necessity of lighting the nave, and windows

were introduced into the side walls, often square or triangular, always inferior in construction to the east window; a little window was sometimes introduced in the east end of the south wall, the purpose of which appears to have been to cast additional light on the altar (*id.* 147). The windows in the nave were usually in the south wall. In some of these churches the stone altar is still standing beneath the little east windows, and is now fully garlanded with woodbine, ivy, and the thorny bramble (*id.* 145), while in one of them two stones believed to have been used as candlesticks, ten inches high, of an upright form, and so hollowed that they could support a candle, which passed through and rested on the altar, were still intact in 1845 (*id.* 1, 62).

The point of greatest interest, however, as Miss Stokes says, in the development of architecture at this stage, is the gradual growth of the use of ornament, not only on the principal features, but on the walls of the buildings also. At first such ornaments seem often introduced without reference to the general effect or beauty of the building, however they may add to its significance; the cross is often found on the soffit, not on the face of the doorway, and the other fragmentary decorations are scattered about the walls of the buildings without any principle of arrangement that we can discover, and yet evidently are not insertions of a later period. The churches thus decorated preserve all the archaic character of the earliest Christian remains, with rude and massive masonry, and little if any cement; the primitive east window is seen adorned, perhaps only on one side, with the fillet moulding, the corner-stones are carved with scrolls, the eaves rest on dragons' heads, and from the walls strange human heads project (xix.). The gradual enrichment was in many cases, however, strictly progressive.

"In the Irish doorway the idea of a group of columns is conveyed by rounding off the angles and channelling the jambs into bowtels or little clustered shafts, and instead of capitals, which each crown a separate column, one long and level entablature unites the whole at the top. At each end of this a woman's head is often carved,

whose streaming hair, entwined in long locks, seems to bind the group of columns into one, and forms an interlaced ornament on the face of the entablature" (*id.* xxiii.).

Attached to the large churches were certain appendages called erdamhs in the old annals. An erdamh, Dr. Petrie argues, answered to the porticus in the Anglo-Saxon churches, which probably meant a sacristy or other lateral apartment entered from the interior of the church (*op. cit.* 438), after the fashion of many mediæval chantries.

Dr. Petrie argues that while it is probable the churches were generally built of stone the oratories and the domestic buildings of the monks were usually made of more perishable materials (*op. cit.* 138). These oratories are known in the old Irish annals as duirtheacs or derthechs. The most reasonable etymology of the word is dair thech, *i. e.*, house of oak, which thus distinguished them from the more important daimliags, or houses of stone (*id.* 340). Dr. Petrie has collected much evidence to show that the duirtheacs or oratories were generally made of wood (*id.* 342—344). They seem to have been also whitewashed (*id.* 344).

Although most usually of wood, they were not universally so, and stone ones were not infrequent, not only in districts where stone abounded and wood was scarce, as in the Arran islands, but also where wood was abundant. An "oratorium lapideum" at Armagh is specially named in the Annals of Ulster under the year 788. A similar reference to one at Bangor is contained in Bernard's Life of St. Malachy (*id.* 141). The use of the qualifying adjective lapideum, in these cases, proves that they were usually made not of stone, but of other materials. Several of these stone oratories survive. They do not vary very much in size, but average about fifteen feet by ten, inside measurement (*id.* 346). Their plan is also very uniform, with a single doorway in the west wall and a single window in the east one, and a stone altar placed near the window. These oratories were usually consecrated by the bishop, and seem to have been very favourite buildings with the Irish, and were founded by them in their scattered settlements

in Lombardy, Switzerland, &c. These oratories were used apparently originally for the private devotions of their founders, whose cells and tombs are found close by, and "they passed into them to spend the evenings of their lives in prayer and penance, and to be buried there, and they afterwards came to be used by devotees as penitentiaries, and to be regarded exclusively as such" (*id.* 352).

In accordance with this view we sometimes find combined under the same roof an oratory and a dwelling, the latter consisting of a room between the stone roof and the covered ceiling of the oratory (*id.* 351 and 352). Against the walls of some of these oratories there sometimes still remain stone cists which doubtless held the shrines of the founders.

Among the most prized and most sacred of the buildings within the ancient cashels were the Ferta or graves of the saintly founders and their descendants. These were of various forms; sometimes, as in Arran, rude sarcophagi, somewhat like Pagan kistvaens, at other times small cairns enclosed by circular or quadrangular walls. Sometimes they were marked by simple unsquared flagstones, with a cross on them, but in the case of more distinguished persons, small, conical-roofed buildings shaped like the oratories were placed over the grave, as in the tombs of St. Cadan, and of St. Muireadoch O'Heney, in the county of Londonderry (*id.* 448 and 449). The latter of these is faced with ashlar masonry, is ten feet long, four feet nine inches wide, four feet high to the eaves, and eight feet to the gable.

These pyramidal tombs no doubt represent the type mentioned by the old writers as prevailing at Iona, where the more celebrated monuments of the kings were built in the shape of little chapels. The sacred wells which form such a marked feature in the early legends of Ireland were sometimes enclosed with masonry, and sometimes when small were similarly covered with stone-roofed buildings, shaped like the oratories (*id.* 447 and 448).

The cashels are also marked by the presence of numerous stone crosses of various sizes, which when dating from the

period which we are describing were apparently plain and unornamented. About the church and oratory clustered the dwellings of the abbot and the brethren. These were usually built no doubt of perishable materials, and for the most part have disappeared. The abbot's house was generally larger and more imposing, and probably, as at St. Kevin's house at Glendalough, and St. Columba's house at Kells, combined both oratory and dwelling. The abbot's house was probably generally quadrangular, while those of the brothers were round and beehive-shaped. In the western parts of Ireland these latter were frequently made of stone, and their remains enable us to reconstruct and describe them. We are told they consisted of small beehive-shaped cells, called clochaun, ranging from seven to eighteen feet in diameter, some circular and others square and oblong in shape, with walls of enormous thickness, those on Scelig Michæl being over six feet thick. This was necessary to support their stone roof. On the outside of some of these roofs are circles of projecting stones, probably meant, as in the churches, to fasten the sods and thatch by, for it is probable that the stone vault was also thus covered to exclude the wet, as it is in several examples still extant. The doorways are small, about four feet high and a little over two wide ; as with the churches, these were surmounted by crosses of white quartz stones. The windows were also small and square-headed, little more than one foot high (Dunraven and Stokes, *op. cit.* 31). In the inside the walls are nearly vertical for several feet. The window is much broader than it is long. Four feet within the room there is a semicircular step, and then a second to the wall. At the top of the building is a circular aperture. This was probably the chimney. The angles of the wall inside are rounded off, and there are small recesses or cupboards in the walls, and projecting stones or brackets. Sometimes there is a low projection on one side of the cell near the ground meant for a seat. In those cells which are round outside, the inside is generally quadrangular. On the floor of one at least of them a kind of kitchen midden

of shells and bones of animals has been found, and on that of another a number of brass pins probably used to fasten the capes of the monks.

Besides the abbot's house and the houses of the brothers, there seems to have been generally a common refectory called a proinntech. Such was probably the ædificium or aula major mentioned among the buildings erected by St. Patrick at Armagh, and which we are told was thirty feet long (*id.* 379 and 423). These were no doubt made generally of wood. So doubtless were the kitchens called cuicins or coitcenns, otherwise called cuili, from the Latin *cullna.* In the Life of St. Patrick by St. Evin, just cited, we are told the kitchen he built was seventeen feet long, and we are told in the ancient fragment of the tripartite life that this was the normal size of such buildings (*id.* 439). We read of St. Columba's kitchen in the life of that saint, of St. Bridget's in her life contained in the Leabhar Breac, and of the kitchens of many other saints in various establishments (*id.* 439). Another important building commonly found in the Irish monasteries, as in the foundation of St. Columba at Iona, was the mill for grinding grain, while stone causeways and stepping-stones are named in a very ancient document, detailing the cost of various buildings (*id.* 342).

Having described the old Irish monasteries, we may now turn to the second part of our paper, and follow the story of their devastation and destruction at the hands of the pirates. In my previous paper I described the descent of the Norsemen on the island of Rechru, during the famous raid in which they plundered Lindisfarne, Iona, and the Isle of Man, at the close of the eighth century. It is not improbable that the rovers who came on that occasion were exiles from the North, victims of the strife between Godfred and Halfdene, to which I referred in my second paper on the Early Intercourse of the Franks and Danes.

The attack on Ireland in 795 was, however, a very transient matter, and only affected one of the small islands on the coast. They did not appear there again for some years.

Their next attack was in 807, when we read in the Chronicon Scotorum, "Burning of Inis-Muiredhaigh by the Gentiles, and devastation of Roscam. The moon was turned into blood" (*i. e.*, was eclipsed). This is the first record we have of any attack made by the Northmen on the mainland of Ireland. Its date is fixed by the eclipse just mentioned. In the Art de Verifier les Dates, 1. 67, it is given under the year 807. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also names it, dating it, however, on the 1st of September, 806 ("Chron. Scot.," 126, note 1). Inis-Muiredhaigh, or Inis Murray, as it is more generally known, was a famous monastic site. The island is situated in the Bay of Donegal, about five miles from the coast of Sligo.

"It forms," says Miss Stokes, "the barony of Carbury in the county of Sligo, and belongs to the parish of Ahamlish, a bare and desolate skerry, forming a table-land, with rocky precipitous sides rising gradually to face the Atlantic, but low in the eastern end where the monastery is situated."

The island was known by its present name as early as 747, and it probably took its name from Muiredach, a follower of St. Patrick, put by him over the church of Killala, and who also probably founded the monastery. A century later St. Molain, a contemporary of Saint Columba, was abbot of the place and founder of the old church bearing his name there, which therefore dates from the sixth century.

"The group of ruins at Inis Murray is," says Miss Stokes, "the most characteristic example now extant of the earliest monastic establishments in Ireland. The cashel or enclosing wall of the old monastery is built of large blocks of round stone, from two to four feet in length. It is from eleven to thirteen feet in thickness on the north side, and from seven to eight feet thick on the south. The greatest diameter of the enclosure, from north-east to south-west, is 175 feet, while from south-east to north-west it is only 135 feet. There are two doorways through the wall."

"This cashel," says the same gifted authoress, "is covered with grey lichen, which, combined with the rude character of its masonry

and the size of its stones, contributes to give it even a finer and more venerable character than that of the forts, either in Kerry or the island of Arran (Lord Dunraven's "Irish Architecture," i. 45, 46). Within the enclosure is a curious medley of churches, cells, raised structures, with chambers and underground passages running through them; leachta, tombs, stations, and pillar stones, with inscribed crosses, some still standing and others fallen on the ground" (*id.* 46).

There are three ruined churches—that of St. Molain, and those called respectively the church of the men and of the women; the first being the oldest, and being constructed of rude masonry cemented with a primitive grouting of shells and clay, with a deeply splayed east window, having a circular bend cut out of a single stone, the whole of a very rude and primitive type. A similar building is the little oratory dedicated to the same saint, whose roof, however, is intact. It is of stone, and has straight sloping sides, the covering stones being laid one on the edge of the next, in the usual style of Irish walling. Inside are still remains of the plaster and wattle lining. The east end contains a rude altar made of small stones (*id.* 47). This clochan or cell, and two others, are singularly well preserved. The largest of them is thirteen feet by twelve feet in size, and thirteen feet high. Miss Stokes has described the buildings in great detail in Lord Dunraven's magnificent work, where the remains are figured. As usual, among the peasantry, traditions and legends float about the old stones in very weird fashion (51). Inis Murray was clearly a very important monastic foundation. It was also easily accessible from the Hebrides, where the rovers probably now had settled quarters. Having burnt the monastery on the island, they went over to the mainland, and penetrated into the very heart of Connaught, where they devastated Roscommon.

It is curious that, as I mentioned in my previous paper this very year, Halfdene with a large armament submitted to the Frank emperor, probably, as I have argued, after a defeat by his rival Godfred. It is not improbable that the invaders of Ireland in 807 may have been some dispossessed fugitives

whose fortunes went down with his. We do not again read of the invaders till 811, when they made a descent upon Ulster, where, we are told, a slaughter was made of them. ("Chron. Scot." 127). The next year we find them in Connaught. They were there beaten by the men of Umhall or Owle, a district comprising the modern baronies of Murresk and Burrishoole, in the county of Mayo. By this defeat we are probably to understand that, as usual with them, having made a descent and being resisted they retreated and went on, for we are told that they, the same year, slaughtered the men of Conmaicne, *i. e.*, of Connemara, in Western Galway. They advanced yet further and made an attack on Munster. According to the Tract on the Wars of the Danes in Ireland, this fleet numbered 120 ships, a most important armament and doubtless a royal fleet. Perhaps it was the fleet of Halfdene which, under his sons, fought such a fierce battle for the throne of Denmark against the successor of Hemming, as I mentioned in a former paper. This fleet, according to the Tract just cited, went to Camas ó Fothaidh Tire (*i. e.*, the fair island of Forthaidh), or, says Dr. Todd, perhaps of Ui Rathaigh (probably the island of Ui Rathaigh in Kerry being meant), and they plundered and devastated it and Inis Labhrain (probably some island on the river Cashen in Kerry), and also Dair Inis (*i. e.*, the oak island). Thence the invaders seem to have advanced inland, where they were beaten by Cobthach, son of Mach Cobha, chief of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, a tribe which lived east of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy and the county of Kerry. On this occasion 416 of them were killed ("Wars of the Danes in Ireland," 5 and 222; "Chron. Scot.," 127; and "Annals of the Four Masters," 419). This means that the invaders were very severely beaten indeed, for 416 must have made a great gap in their not very large armament. We are not surprised therefore to find the defeat a subject of European notoriety. Eginhardt in his Annals tells us that in 812 a fleet of Northmen having attacked Ireland was defeated by the Scots. Many of the invaders were killed, and the

rest returned home ignominiously (Pertz, I., 199, 200; Kruse, 66). The same event is mentioned in the annals of Fulda, where the invaders are called Danes, and in the Annales Ottenburani. It was doubtless on their return journey that, in the following year, *i. e.*, in 813, the men of Umhall or Owle were slaughtered by them, and that Cosgrach, son of Flannabhrat and Dunchadh, king of Umhall, perished ("Chron. Scot.," 129). The invaders seem altogether to have learnt a severe lesson on this visit, for we do not again hear of them for nine years.

When their attacks began again it was, as I believe, from an entirely different quarter; and I will now try and trace them out. We read in the Frankish annals, that in the year 820 a fleet of thirteen ships from Normania appeared on the coasts of Flanders, but were driven off by the coast-guards there, after burning some small houses and carrying off some cattle. They then entered the estuary of the Seine, where they were also routed by the guards and lost five of their number. Then going on towards Aquitaine they destroyed a town there called Bundium by Eginhardt, and Buin in the *Vita Ludovici*, and whose site seems not to be known. Hence they carried off a vast booty and returned homewards ("Eginhardt Pertz," i. 207; "*Vita Lud.*," *id.* ii. 625; Kruse, 79, 80). Kruse has argued with some plausibility that this fleet was commanded by two chieftains, brothers of Eric, the Danish king, who had been expelled from their country the year before (*op. cit.* 80). The question is whither did they go after leaving Aquitaine. It is curious that in the year 821 we again read of the Norsemen in Ireland, not in the north, where they would naturally have appeared if they had come from the Hebrides or Scotland, but on the south-east coast, facing the coast of Gaul. This makes it not improbable that the invaders were the same or a part of the same fleet which had been busy in Aquitaine. This view is rendered more probable when we remember that there was a regular intercourse between Aquitaine and Ireland from early times. Dr. Reeves says :—

"When Saint Columbanus was at Nantes, and the authorities there wished to send him back to Ireland, a ship was found in the harbour ready for the purpose, *quæ Scotorum commercia vexerat*" (Jonas, Vit. St. Columbani, ch. xxii.).

Even at the inland Clonmacnois we read:—

"In illis diebus quibus fratres Sti. Kearani segetes suas metebant, mercatores Gallorum venerunt ad S. Kearanum et repleverunt ingens vas de vino illo quod S. Kearanus fratribus suis dedit" (Vit. S. Kearani, c. xxxi).

We also read in Adamnan's life of St. Columba:—

"Et antequam præsens funatur annus, Gallici Nantæ, de Galliarum provinciis adventantes, hoc eadem tibi enarrabant" (Reeves' "St. Columba," 57 and note *d*).

As I have said, we read of a Danish invasion of the east coast of Ireland in the year 821 or 822. The "Annals of the Four Masters" tell us they attacked Edar, (which was the ancient name of the peninsula of Howth, near Dublin,) and carried off a great prey of women. They also plundered Beg Eire, *i. e.*, Little Ireland, now Begery, a small island close to the land in Wexford harbour, on which was a church built by Saint Ibhar, who died in the year 500 ("Annals of the Four Masters," 431, notes *y* and *z*). They also plundered Dairinis Caemhain, *i. e.*, St. Camhain's oak island in Wexford harbour (*id.* and note *a*). St. Camhain was brother of St. Kevin of Glendalough, and was apparently also the founder of a church in one of the Arran islands (Lord Dunraven's "Irish Architecture," i. 86).

The next year we find them creeping along the coast further west, and attacking Cork and Inis Doimhli, probably not far from Cork ("Chron. Scot.," 131; "Annals of Four Masters," 433). According to the Tract on the Wars of the Danes, they also ravaged Cloyne and Rosniallain, or Roskellan; perhaps, says Dr. Todd, Rostellan, a parish in the barony of Imokilly, in the county of Cork. These places they plundered. We also read that they made a descent on the barren rock of Scelig Michæl, or St. Michael's rock, which was inhabited

by an anchorite named Etgall, whom they carried off. He died shortly after, and his death is dated in the Ulster Annals in the year 823, answering to A.D. 824. The same account says he died of hunger and thirst ("Annals of the Four Masters," 435, note *z*). This rock is one of the most romantic sites in the British Isles, and I am tempted to extract some notes about it by Miss Stokes. It is situated about twelve miles from the westernmost point of the coast of Kerry and in the Atlantic, and "the church of St. Michael with its group of monastic cells is built on its northern summit, where the rounded form of the hill is tinged with delicate green and roseate colour from the sea plants that grow on its bosom, while to the south, the bare pointed rock which forms its highest peak shoots upwards towards the sky." The sides of the rock are precipitous, and there is but one landing-place, "a narrow cove where the surrounding cliffs rise vertically to the full height of the island, and at the end of the gully a cave." The ancient approach to the monastery from the landing-place was on the northern side, as figured in the photograph in Lord Dunraven's book. There are 620 steps, from a point of the cliff which is about 120 feet above the level of the sea, up to the monastery. The rest of this flight of stairs is broken away. "The old stairs run in a varying line, the steps grow broader towards the upper part of the ascent, and are lined with tufts and long cushions of the sea-pink, and at each turn the ocean is seen breaking in silver foam hundreds of feet below." Up this staircase the rovers no doubt went on their wild errand, and along it have gone many pilgrims since, for the place has been a favourite shrine to our own day. The platform on the crest of the great splintered buttress of rock is occupied by the church of St. Michael, and the beehive huts of the anchorites around. The remains consist of those of the church, two small oratories, six beehive huts, two wells, five leachta or places of entombment, and several rude crosses, and are enclosed on one side by the rock and elsewhere by the cashel, or wall.

"The masonry," says Lord Dunraven, "is beautiful, and worthy of the builders of Staigne Fort, whose work it strongly resembles. There is the same curve or batter in the outline of the wall, the stones are laid as headers and fixed in horizontal layers although they follow the batter. It is astonishing to conceive the courage and skill of the builders of this fine wall, placed as it is on the very edge of the precipice, at a vast height above the sea, with no possible standing ground outside the wall from which the builders could have worked; yet the face is as perfect as that of Staigne Fort, the interstices of the greater stones filled in with smaller ones, all fitted as compactly and with as marvellous firmness and skill" (*op. cit.*, 30 and 31).

The rude buildings inside the enclosure are described in great detail by Miss Stokes, and consist of the usual array of ruined structures without ornament or carved detail, proving their early date, and doubtless also the poverty of the early occupiers. The island has a history going back to fabulous times; a cromlech which once stood near its summit is supposed to mark the grave of Ir, the son of Milesius, whose body was washed ashore on the island after the dispersal of his fleet and the destruction of his ship on the coast of Desmond (*id.* 34). It is curious that scelig, which enters into the composition of the name, is not an Irish word, but a corruption of the Norse skerry (Todd's "Wars of the Danes," xxxviii., note 1). Let us now on with our story.

Hitherto the attacks of the Norsemen had fallen in Ireland chiefly upon monasteries of a secondary importance. Their next victim was to be a much more stately foundation, namely the monastery of Bangor, Bennchair Mor, or Great Bangor, as the "Chronicon Scotorum" calls it, which was founded in 558 by Saint Comgall, a companion of Saint Columba. It was situated on the south side of Belfast Loch, in the county Down. Three thousand monks at one time obeyed its rule, and it became the foster-mother of many missionaries (Skene, "Celtic Scotland," i. 55—57). It was now to go under. We are told the Gentiles plundered the monastery, killed its bishop, its doctors and clergy, and broke

the shrine of Saint Comgall. The Ulster Annals state that the relics of Saint Comgall were shaken out of the shrine by the falling of the building ("Wars of the Danes," &c., xxxviii. and 7; "Chron. Scot.," 133; "Annals of the Four Masters," 434, note *p*. This was in 824. The next year, *i.e.*, in 825, the invaders, who had apparently wintered in Strangford or Belfast Lochs, which in later times became very favourite trysting places of theirs, made a descent on Magh bile, *i. e.* Movilla in the county of Down, several of whose bishops are mentioned in the Annals, and we are told they burnt it with its erdamhs, *i. e.*, plundered the church with its attached chapels ("Chron. Scot.," 133; "Wars of the Danes," &c., xxxviii. and 223). They also attacked Dunleth glaise ("Chron. Scot.," 133), *i. e.*, Downpatrick, at the southern end of Strangford Loch, the burial place of Saint Patrick (Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," 493), and which was in those days the royal residence of the chieftains of Eastern Ulster ("Wars of the Danes," cxlviii. note 2). The invaders, however, had not it all their own way, for we are told that they were defeated by the Ulster men at Magh Inis (*i. e.*, the island plain, so called from its being nearly surrounded by the sea. It is the modern barony of Lecale, in the county Down.) In this fight very many people fell ("Chron. Scot.," 133; Todd's "Patrick," 408, note 3). The same year we find the invaders in the south of the island. They had perhaps coasted round its eastern shores after their exploits in Ulster, for we meet with them in Munster and Ossory. The Chronicon Scotorum merely says they defeated the people of Ossory, and again plundered Inis Doimhle. In the Tract on the Wars of the Danes we are told they came to the Ceinnselaigh (*i. e.*, the district coinciding nearly with the present dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns in the counties of Wexford and Carlow *id.* xxxix. and 7), and plundered Tech Munnu (St. Munna's house) now Taghmon, in the county of Wexford; Tech Moling, St. Moling's house, a monastery founded in 632; the place is still called Saint Mullins, and is on the river Barrow, in the county of Carlow) and Inis Teoc, now Inistioge, a small

town on the river Nore, in the county of Kilkenny. They then entered the district of Ossory, where they had a warm reception from the inhabitants, and 170 of them were killed ("Wars of the Danes," &c., xxxix.)

In the same year we are told in the Ulster Annals that the Gentiles spoilt Lusca, in the modern county of Dublin, and wasted Cianachta (*i. e.*, a territory situated in the baronies of Upper and Lower Duleek in the county of Meath) as far as Ochtar Ungen (? Ocha in the county of Meath, near Tara), and afterwards they spoiled the Galls of the north-east, *i. e.*, of Scotland ("Annals of the Four Masters," 1,440, note *i*). This is doubtless the same event mentioned in the Chron. Scot., where we read that Blathmac, son of Flann, was martyred by the Gentiles at Iona ("Chron. Scot.," 133). According to the metrical life of this saint, by his contemporary, Walafred Strabo, which is still extant, he was of royal descent and heir to a throne in Ireland, but devoted himself to a religious life, and became the head of a monastery. Coveting the crown of martyrdom we are told he sought the dangerous neighbourhood of Iona, then presided over by Diarmaid, who in 818 had taken the shrine of Saint Columba there from Ireland ("Chron. Scot.," 131). This seems to show that the Scottish isles were, at that time, unmolested by the pirates. When he learnt of the approach of the invaders he addressed the brethren, and bidding those who could not face the danger depart, he and others determined to stay and oppose the intruders. The chief objects of Danish cupidity on these occasions were the gold and bejewelled shrines enclosing the precious bones of the saints. The shrine of Saint Columba was now taken from its place, buried and covered with sods. We are told that St. Blathmac was celebrating Mass when the invaders fell upon the island. They put many of the monks to the sword, and then turned upon the Saint and demanded the precious reliquary, all showing that the monastery had been in a measure rebuilt since its former destruction. He had purposely remained ignorant of its hiding place, and, we are told, spoke to the enemy in the barbarous tongue, *i. e.*, in

Norse, which was assuredly a most curious accomplishment for an Irish ecclesiastic at this time. He said, "I know not truly what gold ye seek, where it may be placed in the ground, and in what recesses it may be hid; but if it were permitted me to know, Christ permitting, never would these lips tell this to your ears. Savagely bring your swords, seize their hilts and kill. O God I commend my humble self to thy protection." Thereupon they cut him in pieces (Skene, 2, 302 and 303). Diarmaid, the abbot of Iona, apparently escaped, and four years later, *i. e.*, in 829, we find him going to Scotland with the Meonna of St. Columba, which is explained by Dr. Reeves as the articles of veneration of the saint, such as his crozier and his books or vestments, as distinguished from his ashes, and which he had doubtless saved in his flight (*id.* 303). It was at this time, according to the learned author whom I have so often quoted, Mr. Skene, that a small oratory was built over the shrine. He says a small quadrangular cell attached to the west end of the ruins of the Abbey church still goes by the name of Saint Columba's tomb. Its walls are about three and a half feet high, but have been partly excavated. At its west end is a regularly-formed entrance, and within at the east end are two stone rests placed along the north and south walls a few feet apart, which space at the east end was probably once filled by an altar. Mr. Skene argues that the cist on the right or south side contained the shrine of St. Columba, while that on the north side "probably the remains of Saint Blathmac, who died a martyr in protecting it from the Danes" (*id.*). Let us now revert once more to Ireland. Still referring to the year 825, the annals report the destruction Dun Laighen at Druim, by the pagans, in which Conaing, son of Cuchongelt, lord of the Fortuatha was slain with many others ("Annals of the Four Masters," 441). Fortuatha Laighen was the district in which Saint Patrick first landed, and was situated in the county of Wicklow (Todd's "St. Patrick," 286 and notes).

In 826, according to the Four Masters, a year answering to 828 of the Chron. Scotorum, which was probably the true

date, Temhnen the anchorite (not otherwise known to me) was martyred by the foreigners (*op. cit.* 441), and Leathlobhar mac Loingseach, king of Ulidia (*i. e.*, the modern county Down) defeated them (*id.* 443). The Ulster Annals also mention a great slaughter of hogs by the Galls, *i.e.*, the strangers in Ard Ceanachta, the modern barony of Ferrard, county of Louth ("Chron. Scot.," *index*); and we are told Cinaedh mac Cumascai, king of Cianacht (*i. e.* of Upper and Lower Duleek in county Meath), was wounded by the same foreigners, who also burnt Lain Lere (*i. e.*, Dunleer, county Louth) and Cluonmor (? Cloyne in county Cork or Clonmore in county Carlow) ("Annals of the Four Masters," 442 note, *p*). The same year, according to several authorities, a battle was fought against the invaders by Cairpre, son of Cathal king of the Ui Cennsealaigh, *i. e.*, of Wexford, and by the family of Teach Munna, who had already suffered from their attacks (*vide supra*), so that the monks were becoming martial men, and were now allied with the royal clan (from whom doubtless their comarbs were chosen) in repelling the intruders.

During the next two years we do not read of any attacks made upon Ireland by the pirates, and strangely enough it is during this interval we find them on the coasts of Gaul again. The coincidence is certainly strange, and one fact, probably, explains the other. We will now turn thither for a short time.

At the great council held at Ingelheim, in 826, when Harald was baptised and did homage for Denmark, the Breton grandees also attended, and in their presence Nominoé was appointed viceroy of Brittany. It was a great year for Louis le Debonnaire, but he was approaching the term of his grandeur. His sons were growing weary of their father's fickle arrangements for their future. Four different partitions of the empire had been made at various times, chiefly to find an acceptable portion for the child of the second wife, Judith, namely, Charles the Bald, and a civil war was smouldering on his own hearth. It was in the midst

of this ill-will that Louis undertook a campaign against the Bretons, who bore his yoke uneasily and were supposed to be on the eve of rebellion. Louis le Debonnaire set his army in motion during Lent, that holy time when, according to the precepts of the Church, the truce of God ought to have been most strictly observed, so urgent was the supposed exigency the alleged revolt of the Celtic king, an unfounded allegation according to the Breton historian, who maintains that Nominoé remained faithful to Louis, but that Bernard and Count Lambert, the traitor, suggested the inroad to forward some scheme of their own. The expedition was most unfortunate. The larger number of the nobles and troops who ought to have obeyed the summons refused. Some, as we infer from subsequent proceedings, scrupled about the Lenten season (Palgrave, I, 278). They did not scruple, however, to raise the standard of revolt. Paris, the mother of revolutions, still but a provincial city, was the focus of rebellion, and Louis was subjected to indignities, and put under restraint by his sons. This was in 830, and this pass in Carlovingian history was fitly inaugurated by the first determined attack upon the fair shores of the Empire by the pirates. I have small doubt that they were invited by the Bretons, and they probably came from Ireland, thus accounting for their absence from there at this period. We can only grope in the dark, as I have said ; but judging from what we know of their after history they seem to have easily cozened towards the Celtic inhabitants ; at least the hinds and labourers afterwards became their faithful retainers, and among the Celts of Wales and Brittany they are early found in close alliance and friendship.

On this occasion they landed on the Isle of Herio, now called Noir Moutier in the Bay of Bourgnent, just south of the present mouth of the Loire. It is now joined to the mainland by a league's length of strand; its ten leagues of circuit enclose some of the richest land of France, both pasture and arable. In the tenth century it was probably entirely surrounded by water, even at low tide. It then formed one of

those natural fortresses the sea rovers loved so well, with rich grass to feed their captured beeves upon, a channel of their surest ally, the sea, between them and the main, and a fine river close by, a highway by which to creep into the very heart of richly-dowered France.

In 674 St. Philibert had founded a monastery there, known as Noir Moutier from the black dress of its Benedictine tenants, who in the twelfth century were replaced by the reformed white-robed Order of St. Bernard, the Cistercians. This monastery was plundered and burnt in the month of June, 1830. The next year, *i. e.*, in 831, we again read of them in Ireland, and not improbably it was the same body who the year before had been at Noir Moutier and had afterwards returned to their favourite trysting place. On this occasion they attacked Conaille, or Louth, and captured its kings Maelbrighde and Cananan his brother, whom they carried off to their ships ("Chron. Scot.," 139; Annals of Ulster, quoted in the "Annals of the Four Masters," 444, note *z*).

The next year, *i. e.*, in 832, we have a famous entry in the English Chronicle, where it is stated that the heathen men ravaged Sheppy ("Mon. Hist. Britt." 344). The recent researches of Theopald have shown, however, that the dates of the chronicle at this point are four years wrong, and this one ought to be 835 or 6, so that we must postpone the consideration of this and other attacks on England.

It was in 832, however, that they made a much more important attack upon Ireland. The times were favourable to them. There was at this period a persistent feud among the Irish princes, which had lasted for more than a century, owing to the pretensions of the chief of Cashel in Munster to be acknowledged as overking of all Ireland. This claim was at this time hard pressed by Feidhlimidh son of Crimhthan the chieftain of Munster.

"Although," says Dr. Todd, "he was himself an ecclesiastic, abbot, and bishop, as well as king of Cashel, he did not hesitate in the prosecution of his political designs to plunder the most sacred places in the northern half of Ireland, and to put to the sword their

monks and clergy. In 826, and again in 833, he had spoiled the Termon lands, or sanctuary of Clonmacnois, on which last occasion he slew many of the religious and burned the Termon up to the very doors of the principal church. He had treated in the same way the celebrated Columban monastery of Durrow. In 836 he took the oratory of Kildare by force of arms from Forannan of Armagh, who seems to have found refuge there with his clergy, and exacted from him a forced submission; and about the same time he obtained a temporary submission from Nial Caille, the head of the O'Neills who had been overkings of Ireland for so long, and was acknowledged as king of all Ireland" (Todd, *op. cit.*, xliv. and xlv.)

There was a similar feud in ecclesiastical quarters, and the famous see of Armagh, St. Patrick's metropolitan throne, was the subject of a fierce strife, one candidate being the nominee of the O'Neills, and another of their rival the chief of Munster just named. It is not improbable that the Norsemen were the allies of the latter, and that they were actually called in to his aid. Whether this be so or not, we read that in 832 Ardmacha was plundered three times in one month by the Gentiles, this being the first time it had been attacked by them ("Chron. Scot.," 139). Ard Macha, or the height of Macha, was indeed a famous site. When it was granted to St. Patrick by the chieftain Daire the red, it was already the site of a rath or fort, and contained two graves within it, hence its earlier name of Da Ferta. There he proceeded to put up certain conventual buildings already described.

Mr. Petrie has argued very forcibly that the principal buildings founded by St. Patrick at Armagh still survived in the middle of the ninth century, and consequently at the period we are writing about. These consisted of the Damhliag Mor, or great stone church, which substantially remains in the present Cathedral of Armagh, which, says Mr. Petrie, "after all the calamities to which it has been subjected, still retains nearly the same longitudinal measurement as in the time of its original foundation" (*op. cit.*, 154).

There was also the Damhliag ant Sabhaill or barn Church, the Damhliag na Togha, probably the original parish church

of Armagh, and dating from St. Patrick's time or shortly after. Some remains of it existed down to the recent restoration of the cathedral, and the rectors of Armagh were generally inducted there (*id.* 156).

No remains of the buildings at the Fertae Martyrum are now to be found. In the fifteenth century the place had become a nunnery and so continued to the period of the Reformation, when it was suppressed under the name of Temple-fertagh. Dr. Reeves has recently determined its exact spot in the present Scotch Street, at a spot from which a fine view of the hill upon which the cathedral now stands can be obtained. The way in which the capture of this northern ecclesiastical capital of Ireland is mentioned, when we are told that it was taken three times in one month, shows that there must have been some very hard fighting there. The Chron. Scot., after mentioning the plundering of Armagh, speaks of the devastation of Lughmhagh, that is of Louth, where there was a famous monastery founded by Saint Mochta, a disciple of St. Patrick, which was so rich that he was able to support there without requiring them to work for their livelihood, and while engaged altogether in the pursuit of learning, three hundred priests and one hundred bishops, with sixty or, according to another reading, eighty singers; and these numbers constituted the ordinary monastic family or household of the monastery (Todd, *op. cit.*, 29).

Besides Louth, other neighbours of Armagh suffered on this occasion, as Mucsnamha, now Muchnoe, in the county of Monaghan, the district of the Ui Meith Macha in the same county, and Druim Mic Ua Blae, or Druim Hubhla, situate in the baronies of Upper and Lower Slane, in northern Meath, where a church dedicated to Saint Sedna was renovated in the ninth century, but which no longer exists ("Annals of the Four Masters," 445; "Chron. Scot.," 139). The same year they laid waste Daimhliag Cianain (the stone church of Saint Cianain), founded by a disciple of St. Patrick's named Cianan, and now called Duleek, in the county of Meath. They also carried off Ochill the son of Colgan.

The Chron. Scot., besides the capture of Duleek itself, also mentions that the territory of Ciannachta (*i. e.*, a tribe settled in the present baronies of Upper and Lower Duleek in the county of Meath), with its churches, was also spoiled. Tuathal, son of Feradach (about whom I can find nothing) was carried off by them, and the shrine of Saint Adamnan was taken away from Domhnach Maghen (*i. e.*, Donaghmoyne, in the barony of Farney and the county of Monaghan Reeves, "Adamnan," 389).

It was the same invaders, doubtless, who ravaged Cill Uaisaille (the church of St. Auxilius), now Killashee, near Naas, in the county of Kildare, which adjoins Meath.

The Chron. Scot. also mentions a plundering of Lismore in southern Ireland in the same year (*op. cit.*, 139; "Wars of the Danes," xl.).

The church at Lismore was founded by the famous St. Carthach or Mochuda, who was its first bishop, and who having died in 637 was buried there (Petrie, *op. cit.*, 240). Lis meant the wall of earth or stones which enclosed the cashel, and Lismore therefore meant merely the great wall or great rampart (*id.* 441).

This year is the probable date of the raid in the same district mentioned in the Tract already cited as grouping the invasions, and where we are told they demolished Dundermuighe, *i. e.*, the fort of the oak plain, now Dunderrow, near Kinsale; Inis Eoghanain, now Inis Shannon, on the river Bandon; Disert Tipraite, a place not now known; Lismore itself, and Cil Molaisi, now Kilmolash, five miles south-east of Lismore ("Wars of the Danes," &c., xxxix. and 7), all, so far as we can discover, close around the harbour of Kinsale in the county of Cork. The same work next mentions Cluain-ard Mobeoc (*i. e.*, the high lawn of St. Mobeoc) as being attacked by the invaders. Dr. Todd identifies this place with Kilpeacon in the county of Limerick (*id.* xl., note 1). If so, this must have been a solitary and sporadic descent, and it is possible that some now unknown site near Kinsale was really meant.

The very ancient fragment of the work on the "Wars of the Danes," contained in the book of Leinster, says that after

plundering the various places about Kinsale already named, the invaders went north to Snamh Aignech, *i. e.*, Carlingford Loch, where they spoiled Lann Lere, *i.e.*, Dunleer in the county Louth ("Wars of the Danes," &c., xl. and 224), and Cill Shleibhe, now Killevy, near Newry, at the head of Carlingford Loch. The ruins of this church still remain, and are figured in Lord Dunraven's work. It was called Kil Shleibhe, *i. e.*, the church of the mountain, because it was situated at the base of Sleive Gullion, in the parish of Killeevy, near Newry, in the county of Armagh. It consists, we are told, of two churches joined together, the western one forty-five feet long and twenty-two feet four inches wide; the eastern one sixty-one feet long, and twenty-two feet wide. The masonry is very rude, with square-headed doorways and huge lintels and posts; the east window of the western church consists of a simple round arch. The whole is of very primitive work. The church is mentioned as early as 517 (Lord Dunraven's "Irish Architecture," 109 and 110).

In 833, according to the Chron. Scot., Nial, that is Nial Caille, the over-king of Ireland and Murchadh, defeated the foreigners in Daire Chalgaigh, *i. e.*, Derry, or Londonderry ("Chron. Scot.," 139 and 376). The Ulster Annals tell us, however, that the invaders succeeded in plundering Rath Luraigh, *i. e.*, Lurach's fort, the ancient name of Maghera, in the county of Londonderry ("Annals of the Four Masters," 445).

"Maghera," says Lord Dunraven, "is a parish in the barony of Loughnisholm and the county of Londonderry. It is contracted from Machaire, either the 'rath' or 'fort' of the plain. The church there was founded by Saint Lurach, who probably lived at the beginning of the sixth century, and who gave the place its older name.

"The primitive monastery of Saint Lurach was probably enclosed by a circumvallation of earth, which was called his 'rath,' a fact indicative of very early foundation. The church, which still remains, is 71 feet 10 inches long and 20 feet 5 inches wide, is a simple

oblong, and does not seem to have been divided into nave and chancel. The east wall is almost gone, the other walls are chiefly built of some brass or basalt, rubble and good-sized stones, cemented with yellowish mortar. The height is 18 feet, and they are 2 feet 8 inches thick. There is a well close by, which still bears the founder's name, and his grave is said to be marked by a low headstone, with a wheel cross incised on it" (Dunraven's "Irish Architecture," i., 115—120).

Besides ravaging this old foundation, we are told the pirates also plundered Connor, or Condere, in the county of Wicklow ("Annals of the Four Masters," 445). The Chron. Scot. also tells us that this year Clondolcan, near Dublin, was ravaged by them (*op. cit.*, 139). This church was founded by Saint Mochua, who was its first abbot, and who flourished early in the seventh century. It subsequently rose to the rank of a bishop's see, and became a place of great celebrity. Of its original ecclesiastical edifices the tower alone remains (Petrie, *op. cit.*, 393). This is, no doubt, of later date than the ninth century. A large granite cross, without ornament, which stands in the churchyard, was, however, probably there when the Norsemen made their attack. They also plundered Loch Bricren, *i. e.*, the lake of Bricrum, so called from a chief of Ulster in heroic times. It is a small town, near a lake of the same name in the barony of Upper Inagh, in county Down. There Conghalach, son of Eachaidh, was taken prisoner and carried off by the foreigners to their ships, where he was killed ("Annals of the Four Masters," 447, 449, and note 2).

The next year, *i. e.*, 834, we are told Dunachadh, son of Scanlan, king of the Ui Fidgheinte (who inhabited a district in Limerick round the town of Croom), defeated the invaders and killed many of them ("Chron. Scot.," 141; "Annals of the Four Masters," 449).

The invasion of the great inlet of Limerick—the outfall of the Shannon, which, dotted with its many islets, was a very paradise as a trysting-place for the fleets of the pirates, is told in greater detail in the Tract on the Danes in Ireland, where

we read that they came into the harbour of Limerick, and that Corco Baiscinn (a district comprising the baronies of Moyarta, Clonderalaw, and Ibrickan, in the county of Clare), Tradraighe (a district in the same county, east of the river Fergus, whose name survives in the parish and rural deanery of Tradry), and the country of the Conaill Gabhra, or of the descendants of Conall Gabhra, who gave its name to the barony of Conellœ ("Wars of the Danes," xl., 9 and 31, note 7), which tribe, under their chief Donnchadh, or Donadhach, son of Scannlan (who was also head of the Ui Fidgheinte) together with Niall, the son of Cennfaeladh, the chieftain of Ui Cairbre, defeated them at a place called Senati, probably now represented by Shanagolden, in the barony of Lower Connello, in the county Limerick, where many of them were slain ("Chron. Scot.," 141; "Wars of the Danes," xli., 9 and 224).

This battle is dated in the year 834 in the "Annals of Ulster," the "Chron. Scot.," and the "Four Masters." "The Chronicon Scotorum" tells us further that the same year Glen da Locha, or Glendalough, was plundered by the pirates. Here they were again on a famous site, one of the most beautiful spots in Ireland, and the goal of many pilgrims in our own day. The abbey there was founded by Saint Kevin, and the church built by him is identified by Dr. Petrie with that still called the Lady's Church, in which his tomb remained during the last century (*op. cit.*, 170). Dr. Petrie also assigns to this early date the name of the famous building at Glendalough, known as Saint Kevin's house; and there are probably also remains of other very early buildings in the neighbourhood, but the greater part of what remains is of a much later and more ornate kind. Having pillaged Glendalough, the Norsemen also ravaged Slane, in the county of Meath, where there was formerly a round tower; and Finnabhair, abha, *i. e.*, Fennor, in the barony of Duleek, in Meath, the burial-place of St. Nechtan ("Annals of the Four Masters," 449; "Chron. Scot.," 384; Petrie, 164).

The next year, *i. e.*, in 835, we find them busy at their usual

occupation of piracy at Fernamor (*i. e.*, Ferns, in the county of Wexford), which was a foundation of St. Aidan, whose shrine was in the possession of Dr. Petrie (*vide* his volume, 201), Cluain mor Maedhoig (*i. e.*, Clonmore, in the county of Carlow,) and other churches of Ir Mumban, *i. e.*, Ormond (Chron. Scot., 141). The "Annals of the Four Masters" add the Church of Druimh' Ing, a monastery of St. Fuintain, among the Ui Seaghain, a tribe and territory situated near Rath Ciule, in the barony of Ratoath and the county of Meath (*op. cit.*, 451, and note *d*). The same year they made a descent upon Mungairid, now called Mungret, in far distant Limerick ("Chron. Scot.," 141; "Annals of the Four Masters," 451). A very ancient church, said to have been founded by St. Nessan, in St. Patrick's time, still survives there (Petrie, *op. cit.*, 180). "The wide range of these ravages," as Dr. Todd says, "proves they were committed by more than one body of invaders." The account for the most part is a mere dry list of names, as monotonous as the doings of the veritable Philistines which they record. In the Tract on the Wars of the Danes in Ireland, the attacks, as I have said, are not dated, but arranged in groups more or less geographical, but apparently very arbitrarily. Such a group includes the ravages just described, and adds some other names. Thus, after mentioning the expedition to Dunleer and Killessy (*vide ante*) we read that they returned again and plundered Swords of Columkille (*i. e.*, Sord, near Dublin). It was a foundation of St. Columba's, and founded before the year 563 (Petrie, *op. cit.*, 398). A famous round tower still remains there. This work also mentions Damliag of Cianan (*vide ante*), and Slane (*id.*), and Killossy or Kiluasile (*id.*), and Glendalough (*id.*), and Cluain Uamha (*i. e.*, Cloyne, in the county of Cork, but probably a mistake for the Clurain Mor already mentioned), and Mungairt, and the greater part of the churches of Erin. In this list of names we have, in fact, a repetition in one group of those already cited chronologically from the Annals.

We now again meet with an invasion of the Frank Empire, and it is in September of this year, 835, that we read of

Reginald Count of Herbauge attacking them in the island of Herio, where he fought for seven hours from morning till night, and where he was wounded with many of his followers, and forced to seek refuge on the mainland. The Annals, as usual, offer their readers consolation by discounting the practical victory of the pirates with a considerable slaughter of their number. We are told that 480 of them perished in this attack—a very improbable story (Chronicon Engolism, ad ann. 835; Depping, 180). We must now turn again to Ireland.

In 836 the Gentiles from Inbher Dea, *i. e.*, the mouth of the river Vartry, in the county of Wicklow, where St. Patrick landed (Todd, "Life of St. Patrick," 338), and where the pirates doubtless had a trysting-place, attached Cildara, *i. e.*, Kildare, and burnt half the church. From the following sentence in the Annals it is not improbable that the Norsemen were in alliance with Feidhlimdh, the King of Munster already named, for it is said he captured the oratory at Kildare against Foran, the abbot of Armagh, with the congregation of Patrick, and took them prisoners "with their submission?" Kildare, "the church of the oak," was so called from a famous oak which was much cherished by St. Brigid (Todd, *op. cit.*, 21). St. Brigid was the founder of the monastery there, which became one of the most fertile mothers of monachism in Western Europe. Her establishment comprised both sexes. They were separated from each other in the cathedral by a partition, which explains the statement of the Annals that the Norsemen burnt half the church. While she and her successors presided over the abbey, a regularly constituted bishop had joint authority with her, and looked after matters episcopal. He had his episcopal throne, "cathedra episcopalis," she her virginal chair ("cathedra puellaris"). While the Bishop of Kildare was the senior bishop of Ireland, she was the senior abbess among the Scots. St. Brigid and the bishop she appointed were buried on the right and left of the high altar respectively; and their shrines, highly decorated with pendent crowns of gold, silver, and gems, were preserved there. He had been a patron of

the arts; had imported vestments of variegated texture from the Continent, which were then deemed peculiarly magnificent, and we are told he was St. Brigid's chief artist; Dr. Todd adds that the ancient Irish ecclesiastics did not consider it beneath their dignity to work as artificers in the manufacture of shrines, reliquaries, bells, pastoral staves, crosiers, covers for sacred books, and other ornaments of the church and its ministers. "The ecclesiastics of that period seem to have been in fact the only artists, and several beautiful specimens of their work are still preserved, chiefly belonging to the century or two centuries before the English invasion of Ireland; for almost all the older monuments of this kind, especially if formed of the precious metals, appear to have been destroyed or melted by the Danes" (Todd, *op. cit.*, 11—26). From this account it will be seen that the Norsemen doubtless found a rich booty when they plundered Kildare in 836. They followed up their attack there by a second raid on Cluain mor Maedhoig, or Clonmore, in the county of Carlow, which they assailed on Christmas Eve, and whence they carried off a great number of prisoners, and then cruelly ravaged all Connaught ("Chron. Scot.," 141). The oratory of Glen da Locha was also burnt by them.

The otherwise monotonous Annals have a curious notice this year, showing that nature was bountiful enough at these critical times; we read that there was abundance of nuts and acorns this year, and they were so plentiful that in some places where shallow brooks flowed under trees men might go dryshod, the waters were so full of them!!!

The sentence following is in grim contrast to this. "The Gentiles this year harried and spoiled all the province of Connaught" ("Annals of the Four Masters," 453; "Chron. Scot.," 141.) In the same year the Four Masters have an entry which would be very curious and interesting if well authenticated; we are there told that "Goffraith, son of Fergus, chief of Oirghialla, *i. e.*, Oriel or Uriel, in Ulster, went to Alba, *i. e.*, Scotland, to strengthen the Dal Riada, at the request of Cinaeth son of Ailpin," *i. e.*, Kenneth McAlpin (*op. cit.*, 453).

This early use of the Norse name Goffraith in Ireland is very interesting, but Mr. Skene, than whom it would not be easy to quote a better authority, considers it as of slight value, and that it has been taken from the unreliable genealogy of the McDonalds, Lords of the Isles, contained in the "Book of Ballymote," (letter to the author). I am not so sure, however, that he has not here been too sceptical, and the entry is deserving of more critical sifting. A second entry occurs in the "Annals of the Four Masters," which tells us Goffraith died in 851. He is then styled Chief of the Inis Gall, *i. e.*, Lord of the Isles, and if genuine, is the first recorded of that long and picturesque line of chieftains.

The year 837 was also a terribly scarlet year in the Irish annals; we read how a formidable fleet of sixty ships appeared in the river Boyne, and a second fleet of sixty ships in the Liffey, and that these two fleets ravaged the districts of Magh Life (*i. e.*, the plain of the Liffey in Kildare) and Magh Bregh the (plain of Bregia, between the Liffey and the Boyne, and extending from the sea into the county of Meath). The men of Bregh won a victory over them and killed six score of them ("Chron. Scot.," 141).

This victory, if victory it was, was compensated by a terrible reverse elsewhere, for we are immediately afterwards told that a battle was gained by the foreigners at Inbhear-na-Barc, *i. e.*, the river or estuary of the barks or ships, which the learned editor of the "Annals of the Four Masters" identifies with the mouth of the river of Rath Inbhir, near Bray (*op. cit.*, 455, note *b*), over all the O'Neills (*i. e.*, all the southern O'Neills who lived in the ancient Meath), from the Shannon to the sea, in which such slaughter was effected as had never before been seen, but the chief kings escaped ("Chron. Scot.," 141; "Annals of the Four Masters," 455, 456). This was evidently a crushing disaster for the Irish, and it was followed by blow on blow of the heaviest kind, which are described in grim, short phrases by the chroniclers. By these blows the most famous religious establishments in Ireland were devastated, and all, too, apparently in one year. The

list begins with Cluain-mac-Nois, assuredly a most famous monastic foundation, the most famous seat of religion and school of art in Ireland. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Shannon, in the barony of Garrycastle, in King's County. I shall avail myself of Dr. Petrie's description of its present aspect.

"The scenery of Clonmacnois," he says, "is of a character altogether lovely, sublime, and poetic. We stood on a gentle eminence above the margin of a noble and majestic river, on which, amidst a multitude of ancient gravestones, are placed two lofty round towers, and seven or eight churches, presenting almost every variety of ancient Irish Christian architecture. A few lofty ash trees, that seem of equal antiquity and sanctity with these ruins, wave their nearly leafless branches above the dead. To the right an elevated causeway carries the eye along the river to the ruins of an ancient nunnery, and on the left still remain the walls of an old castle, once the palace of the bishops, not standing, but rather tumbled about in huge masses on the summit of a lofty mound or rath, surrounded by a ditch or fosse, now no longer necessary, which once received the waters from the mighty stream. The background is everywhere in perfect harmony with the nearer objects of this picture; the chains of bare hills on either side, now sere and wild, but once rich with woodland beauty, shut out the inhabited country we so lately left, and the eye and mind are free to wander with the majestic river in all its graceful windings through an uninhabited and uninhabitable desert, till it is lost in the obscurity of the distance. Loneliness and silence, save the sounds of the elements, have here an almost undisturbed reign. Sometimes, indeed, the attention is drawn by the scream of the wild fowl which inhabit this solitary region, or the shot of the lonely sportsman; at other times we could hear the measured time of the oar, or rather paddle, of a solitary boat long before the little speck on the water became visible.

"There is not perhaps in Europe a spot where the spirit would find more matter for melancholy reflection than among the ancient churches of Clonmacnois. Its round buildings call forth national associations and ideas. They remind us of the arts and literature, the piety and humanity, which distinguished their time, and are the work of a people who, in a dark age, marched among the

foremost on the road to life and civilization, but who were unfortunately checked and barbarized by those who were journeying on the same course, and ought to have cheered them on." (Petrie, MS. Hist. of Clonmacnois, quoted in Lord Dunraven's work, ii., 95, 96.)

The name Cluain-mac-Nois means the meadow of the son of Nois. The monastery there was founded by Saint Ciaran in 544. We are told that the king, Diarmaid Mac Cerbhall, assisted Ciaran with his own hands to raise the humble edifice and the still humbler cell which adjoined it, the monarch being at the time himself an outcast, on whose life a price was fixed, and who was seeking shelter from his persecutors in the wilderness to which the saint had come for solitude and repose. The monastery afterwards became the cemetery of King Diarmaid and his successors, and was richly endowed by them. It gradually became the chief school in Ireland. In the eighth century Colcu, one of its lectors, was known abroad as the chief scribe and master of the Scoti. He was a correspondent of Alcuin, who sent him a present of some holy oil for consecration, shekels as a present from his master Charlemagne, and similar gifts from himself for the brotherhood at Clonmacnois, and other presents to be distributed elsewhere. Colcu was the author of a famous work called "Scuaip Chrabhaidh," *i. e.*, the "Besom of Devotion." He died in the year 789 (Dunraven, *op. cit.*, 96, 97). We shall revert to Clon-mac-Nois again, for it long survived this first attack of the Danes, and increased in wealth and splendour; but there is small doubt that even now the pirates found a rich booty there.

Besides Clon-mac-Nois, we are told they in this year burnt the churches of Loch Erne, near Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh, such as Daimhinis, (*i. e.*, ox island, now Devenish Island) in that lake. The monastery there was founded by Saint Molaise, otherwise called Laisren, who died there. A beautiful and perfect round tower still remains to mark the spot of the monastery, and the oratory of St. Molaise survived until a few years ago ("Annals of the Four Masters," 203,

note *t;* Petrie, *op. cit.*, 355, 432). They also plundered the church of Cluain Eos, or Clones, in the county of Monaghan, where there was another famous monastery, and burnt the churches of Laictene, Inis Cealtra, and Cill Finchi. Laictene was so called after Saint Lactin, who died in 622, and who had churches dedicated to him at Freshford, in the county of Kilkenny; Muscraighe, in the county of Cork; and Ballylongford, in the north of the county of Kerry ("Annals of the Four Masters," 244, note *g;* and 456, note *e*). Inis Cealtra was an island in Loch Dergdheirc ("Chron. Scot.," 389); there was an ancient church there built, by Saint Caimin in the seventh century, and rebuilt in the tenth by the famous Brian Borumha, the object of so much affection on the part of Irish patriots (Petrie, *op. cit.*, 272, &c.); while Cill Finnchi was a church described in a gloss to the Feilire Aenguis as near a great hill called Dom Buidhe, in Magh Raighne in Ossory. This has not been identified, however ("Annals of the Four Masters," 456, note *f*). We next have a very remarkable reference, since it preserves for us the first name of a leader of the pirates recorded in the Irish Annals. The phrase in the "Chronicon Scoticon" is "the killing of Saxolbh, lord of the foreigners, by the Ciannachta," *i. e.*, the men of Duleek in eastern Meath ("Chron. Scot.," 143). The name Saxolbh is a curious one. It is clearly the Anglo-Saxon name Saxulf, and is not a Norse name at all. This proves that the Norse folk at this time were accompanied by some English chiefs, a fact which will be shown to have more than a passing interest presently. We then read of a slaughter of Gentiles at Carn Feradhaigh, which is a mountain in the territory of Clin-Mail in the south of the county of Limerick ("Annals of the Four Masters," 457, 245, note *h;* "Chron. Scot.," *loc. cit.*). They, however, gained a victory at Ferta, *i. e.*, the graves, probably Fearta fear Feig, on the Boyne near Slane, in Meath ("Annals of the Four Masters," 457, and note *h;* "Chron. Scot.," *loc. cit.*). This was balanced by a defeat at Eas-ruaidh, now Assaræ, at Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal ("Annals of the Four Masters,"

456, 457, note *i*; "Chron. Scot." *loc. cit.*). Lastly, we have the short and pregnant phrase, "The first taking of Athcliath by the foreigners." Athcliath is short for Dubhlinn of Athcliath, *i. e.*, "the black pool of the ford of hurdles," and was the ancient name of Dublin ("Wars of the Danes," &c., xlix., note 5; "Annals of the Four Masters," and "Chron. Scot.," *loc. cit.*).

Such is the calendar of destruction and ravage committed in the fatal year 837. The size of the fleet which then arrived, 120 ships, is enormous for a Norse armament, as all will confess who have studied the doings of the corsairs, and the record of its handiwork shows that it was a very powerful body of invaders, and no doubt therefore led by a famous chieftain. On turning to the Tract on the Wars of the Danes we recover his name, which was Turges, or Turgesius, which it has been suggested is a form of the Norse name Thorgils. As usual, in this account the story is confusedly told, and, as Dr. Todd has suggested, we seem to have the same story repeated in it in a different way. Confused as it is, we will now abstract the notice, which is no doubt very valuable.

After mentioning the descent on Limerick (*ante*) this account goes on to say, "There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erin with Turges. This Turges assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erin. The north of Erin was plundered by them, and they took possession of Leth Cuin (*i. e.*, the northern half of the island, called Leth Cuin or Cons half; *op. cit.*, 8, note 7).

"A fleet of them took possession of Loch Eathach, *i. e.*, Loch Neagh; another fleet took possession of Louth, another of Loch Ree" (*op. cit.*, 9, 224, and xlii., note 1). Here it will be seen three fleets are mentioned, and not two, as in the Annals. Then we have some paragraphs which are apparently inserted out of their order, and to which we shall revert presently, after which follows an account of the ravages as follows. "There came after that threescore and five ships (sixty is the number named in the Annals as forming each of the two fleets), to Dublin of Ath Cliath, and Laigin (*i. e.*,

Leinster) was plundered by them to the sea, and Magh Bregh" (*i. e.*, Bregia, already mentioned) (*op. cit.*, 13, 226). This story is clearly a condensed account of what we have already recited from the Annals; but at this point we get a very interesting additional phrase, for we are told that this fleet, after the plundering of Laigin and Bregia, went northwards with its left hand towards Erin, and the Dalriadans gave them battle. They were led by their king Eoghanan, the son of Angus (who according to O'Flaherty was the 31st of the Dalriadan kings of Scotland), who was killed, ("Wars of the Danes," 13, 226). The Ulster Annals tell us expressly the battle was fought in Fortrenn or Pictland, and besides Eoghan he tells us that Bran the son of Angus and Aid the son of Boareta, and an almost innumerable body of people, perished there ("Skene's Celtic Scotland," 307-8, note 7). These Annals date the fatal battle in 838, which answers to 839 of our era (Todd, *loc. cit.*").

The fight here described was one of the most important battles in history. In Mr. Skene's words,—

"The Picts received so crushing a blow from the Danish pirates, that it seems to have almost exterminated the family connected with Fortrenn, and paved the way for the successful attempt of the son of Alpin the Scot to place himself on the throne of the Picts" (*id.*, 307).

It was doubtless a consequence of this victory that, as we read in the "Chronicle of the Picts and Scots," the Danes devastated Pictland as far as Cluny and Dunkeld (*id.*, 310, note 66).

It seems clear, from the petty doings of the Norsemen in Ireland in 838, that a large part of the royal fleet, after gorging itself with booty from Ireland, had gone to Scotland, as I have mentioned. In 838 we have but one entry about "the Gentiles," where we are told they defeated the people of Connaught, and that Maelduin, son of Murighes, son of Tomaltash, and others were killed ("Chron. Scot.," 143; "Annals of the Four Masters," 459).

In 839 we read that a marine fleet of the foreigners arrived in Loch Eathach (*i. e.*, Loch Neagh), and the territories and churches of the north of Ireland were spoiled by them. The Annals of Clonmacnois say they built a fortress there. This was no doubt the fleet of Turges which had returned from the Scotch expedition, and explains the mention of the third fleet on Loch Neagh in the confused narrative of the "Tract on the Danes in Ireland."

The same year Ferns, in Wexford, and Cork were again ravaged ("Chron Scot.," 143; "Annals of the Four Masters," 459). This was probably by another section of the invaders.

In 840 the party who had settled on Loch Neagh attacked Louth, and made prisoners of many bishops and other wise and learned men, and carried them to their fortress, after having slain many others ("Annals of Ulster," quoted in "Annals of the Four Masters," 460, 461, and note *d*). This event is confused, by the "Tract on the Wars of the Danes in Ireland," with the previous capture of Armagh, when it was taken three times in one month, and no doubt by quite a different section of the pirates. The mistake has led to a misplacement of the paragraphs in that narrative, and to a confusion of the chronology of Turges' expedition in Dr. Todd's narrative. The notice to which I refer runs as follows:—

"Moreover Armagh was plundered by them three times in the same month, and Turges himself took the abbacy of Armagh, and Forannan, abbot of Armagh, was driven away and went to Munster, and the shrine of Patrick with him, and he was four years in Munster, while Turges was at Armagh, and the power of the north of Erin was with him" (*op. cit.*, 9, 224).

This proves that a confusion in the dates has arisen, for as Forannan returned in 845 and was absent four years, it seems to show that the capture of Armagh referred to was the later one, and not the earlier, which has been mixed up with it.

The capture of the famous old foundation of St. Patrick, and the eviction of his successor, are said to have been foretold

by several of the old saints, and the Annals quotes from three of them prophecies which are very clearly *ex post facto.*

First that of St. Bercan :—

"Gentiles shall come over the noble sea,
They shall spread over the land of Erin;
Of them shall be an abbot over every church,
Of them shall be power over Erin.
Seven years shall they be, not weak their power,
In the sovereignty of Erin,
In the abbacy of every church,
The Gentiles of the port of Dublin.
There shall be an abbot of them over this my church;
He shall not attend to matins;
Without pater, without creeds,
Without Latin, and only knowing a foreign language."

Then that of St. Columba :—

"This fleet of Loch Ri
Has well exalted the foreign Gentiles.
Of them shall be an abbot of Ardmacha;
It shall be the rule of a usurper."

That of Bec ma De, a saint who is said to have lived in the sixth century :—

"When the bell was rung in warm Tailtin,
The aged, wealthy Ciaran of Saighu
Promised to Erin three times,
Parties of Danes of the black ships."

This is explained in the context, as meaning that the Danish invasions were in punishment, first, of the banishment of St. Columba to Scotland; secondly, the sacrilegious insult offered to Ciaran, of Clonmacnois, by King Diarmaid, in Tailtin, or Teltown, doubtless referring to the false oath sworn on the relics of his hand by Ambacuc in the year 544 ("Chron. Scot.," 49); and lastly, for the fasting of the saints of Erin against Diarmaid MacCerbhaill. This refers to the fact that Diarmaid was largely infected with Druidic

notions, and was a patron of the Druids, and in consequence incurred the displeasure of St. Columba, who denounced him (see Todd's "Patrick," 118, &c.).

Let us now return once more to the Annals. Under the year 840 we are told that the foreigners who still remained at Loch Neagh built themselves a fortress at Linn Duachail, probably situated at the tidal opening of the Glyde and the Dee, in the county of Louth, where the village of Annagassan stands ("Wars of the Danes," Todd's note, lxii., note 1). Thence they plundered the churches and territories of Teabhtha, or Teffia, a territory comprising portions of the present counties of Longford and Westmeath. They also built a fortress at Dublin (doubtless where the castle still stands), whence they harried Leinster and the land of the southern O'Neills as far as Sliabh Bladhma (*i. e.*, the Slieve Bloom Mountains in King's County, to which the land of the southern O'Neills extended) ("Annals of the Four Masters," 461, note *g*). They also plundered Cluain Edhnech, *i. e.*, Clonenagh, the famous monastery of St. Fintan, in Queen's County ("Wars of the Danes," lxi., note), and demolished Cluain Iraird, *i. e.*, Clonard, in the county of Meath, the foundation of St. Finnian, called the foster-father of the saints of Ireland. His celebrated school at Clonard is said to have produced 3,000 disciples, and as Dr. Todd says, it became the *alma mater* of many eminent ecclesiastics. The famous saints known as the twelve apostles of Ireland were his disciples (Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," 98). St. Finnian died in 551.

Besides this seat of learning the invaders also laid low Cil Achaidh, or Cil Achaidh-Droma-forta (*i. e.*, the church of the field of the long ridge), now Killeigh, in King's County, founded by Saint Sinchell, who died of the plague in 549. The next year was again a red year in the Annals. We are told the Gentiles were still at Dublin. Those at Linn Duachaill again plundered Clonmacnois and also Cennetigh, now called Kinithy, in King's County, where there was a monastery ("Chron. Scot.," 145; "Annals of the Four Masters,"

463, note *s*). Another fleet of them was stationed at Linn Ross, on the river Boyne. Linn Ross, or the pool of Ross, was that part of the river Boyne which was opposite Rosnarea, in the barony of Lower Duleek, in the county of Meath ("Annals of the Four Masters," 462, note *q*). Another fleet was at Linn Suileach, doubtless an ancient name of Loch Suilach, or Loch Swilly, in Donegal ("Annals of the Four Masters," 463, note 2). It was apparently from Dublin ("Annals of Ulster," quoted in "Annals of the Four Masters," 463, note *s*) that issued those who plundered Birra, a foundation of St. Brendan, who died in 565 or 571, now called Parsonstown and Saigher, *i. e.*, Seir Keiran in Ballybritt, King's County, where was the principal church of St. Kiaran.

"Saigher," says Dr. Todd, "is said to have been the name of a well-venerated queen in pagan times, and a prophecy attributed to St. Patrick is cited as having directed Saint Kiaran to the place. He founded a church there, and began, we are told, by occupying a cell, where he lived as a hermit in the midst of a dense wood, and tamed some of the wild animals of the forest for his amusement; but his fame drew disciples, a monastery followed, and then a city, to which the name of Saigher, pronounced Seir, was given, from the name of the ancient well, and it was afterwards named Seir Keiran from the name of the saint." (Todd's St. Patrick, 201.)

Disert Diarmata (*i. e.*, Saint Diarmaid's desert hermitage or wilderness) was also devastated, the body who plundered it coming from Kaeluisge (*i. e.*, the narrow water, now Narrow-water), situated between Warren's Point and Newry in the barony of Upper Iseagh, in the county Down ("Annals of the Four Masters," 462, note *p*). "Disert Diarmata was the ancient Irish name of Castle Dermot, in the baronies of Kilkea and Moone, near the southern extremity of the county of Kildare, where Diarmaid, son of Aedh Roin, erected a monastery about A.D. 500. In the churchyard there are to be seen an ancient round tower and several curious crosses, which attest the antiquity and former importance of the place" (*id.*, note *o*).

Three important victims of the pirates are mentioned by name this year; these were Caemhan, abbot of Linnduachaille,

who we are told was mortally wounded and burnt by the Gentiles,—the "Annals of Ulster" say by the Irish and Gentiles ("Annals of the Four Masters," 463, note *s*; "Chron. Scot.," 145). They also killed Moran mac Inreaghty, Bishop of Clogher (*id.*), and they captured Maldinn MacConal, king of Calatrom (*i. e.*, Galtrim in Meath), who was killed three or four years later by the people of Leinster.

During the next two years the entries in the Annals about the Norsemen are very scanty, proving doubtless that a large part of their fleets were busy buccaneering elsewhere.

This is a good halting-place. The pirates now began a series of much more important raids upon the fair lands of France, while their course in Ireland also took a new departure. Much of this paper consists of arid detail, because the ground is largely new and untrodden, and we have to carve our way through a thicket which is dense and confused; but the very dryness of the details and their iteration proves the terrible way in which the culture and civilization of early Ireland was laid low at this time by the pirates.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF IDEALISM AND REALISM.

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IV. MODERN PERIOD;

Descartes—Spinoza—John Locke.

THE whole of humanity has developed in two circles,—an ante-Christian circle, which encompassed the Oriental, Greek, and Roman world; and a post-Christian circle, which is in its principal philosophical elements exclusively Teutonic. The different religious systems of the East culminated in Greek *idealism;* whilst the spiritual movement of Christianity brought us through the theologico-realistic and nominalistic phases to the culture of modern *realism.*

The eternal conflict of the two forces at strife in humanity, forming the very foundation of human progress, may be traced step by step in their mutual action and reaction producing the most heterogeneous effects throughout the whole history of man's mental development in philosophy, be such development ethical, political, or scientific in its results.

The Egyptian mystic philosophy, the Indian fantastic theogonies and cosmogonics, the Persian gloomy dualism, and the Hebrew realistic monotheism, led slowly and gradually to the Greek ideal humanization of the gods, and the equally ideal deification of man. The Teutons, on the other hand, after a sanguinary struggle lasting longer than 1,500 years, breaking with the religious abstractions of the Papal Church, regained freedom of thought through our inherited force of inquiry, doubt, and reasoning, and took us back to the study of nature in order to promote man's real humanization through art, science, and philosophy.

Philosophy, whether ideal or realistic, has had its origin, development, and progress in these two circles only. The Greek and the neo-Teutonic spirit encompass all the efforts of man in the realm of thoughts. The Oriental mode of thinking and believing was as necessary to the possibility of Greek philosophy as the mediæval half-Roman and half-theological struggle to the neo-Teutonic freedom of thought.

The great mistake generally committed in studying any branch of history is *isolation*, either of facts, or of the phases of intellectual or religious, political or social developments. The connecting links, if missed or discarded, may lead us to utterly false conceptions and conclusions. Neither in ancient Greece nor in modern times did philosophy reach at once an independent climax on the lofty heights of progress, but had to drag on for centuries a dreary existence of errors, fettered by prejudices and superstition. The Oriental spirit altogether avoided inquiry. It assumed to have received its moral laws from a higher divine source. The special name of that higher source is indifferent to the philosophical historian, as a name cannot change the essence of that source itself, which cannot be other than *one* and universal, manifesting itself through man's special individual conception in numberless forms. The Oriental mode of thinking excluded all higher philosophy. The mind in the East was restricted to mere *arguing*, commenting, interpreting ; with such elements only theosophy, or rather theosophism, was possible, but not philosophy. This hypothetical state of intellectual submission was changed by the Greeks into a bold activity of inquiry into the deified phenomena of nature, and their first cause. Their poetical polytheism ended at last as the most complete monotheistic idealism. This was the ante-Christian development.

The post-Christian era, despairing of the possibility of knowing, began by silencing all efforts of our finite intellect as audacious blasphemies, and, proclaiming the dethronement of reason, sought salvation in blind and unconditional faith. Truth was thus ready made for man. He had only to repeat given formulæ, to study the verbiage of *à priori* assumptions,

to trust to, and quote authorities, and to limit the use of his thinking, reasoning, and above all, inquiring faculties, avoiding the dangerous paths of doubt, to a prescribed groove. No one admitted that man's mind was endowed with two distinct faculties, the one bent on constructing and the other on analyzing, or on composing and decomposing; and that both faculties, properly used, could alone advance our scientific progress. The two faculties were artificially separated, and this separation worked to the detriment of true knowledge for thousands of years. Only one of the faculties was to be brought into action, whilst the other was condemned as utterly wrong, wicked, and detestable. The one assumed the garb of implicit faith, and the other was called doubt, scepticism, heresy, infidelity,—nay, atheism. But the exercise of the two faculties is as necessary in the development of the progressive civilization of humanity as the two fundamental elements, mind and matter. To extol mind, and to vilify matter, is as foolish, as to deny mind, and to glorify matter. Mind and matter are completing elements, like scepticism and faith, or like idealism and realism.

In the first paper which I had the pleasure of reading before the Fellows of the Royal Historical Society in 1875, I asserted, in trying to place the study of history on a strictly scientific basis, that there are two forces working in humanity —morals and intellect; and the more deeply we dive into the history of man's mental development, the more evident becomes the action and reaction of these two forces. All our mental exertions are directed to improve our morals, and to increase our knowledge, either on the path of construction or destruction; and these two movements form the vital currents of our intellectual progress. If we intend to advance in science, we must, above all, learn to believe with caution, and to doubt with method. If we disturb the proper balance between faith and doubt, we obtain dogmatism on one side, and scepticism on the other—*tertium non datur;* except for the masses that merely vegetate, and neither believe nor doubt, forming the dead weight of humanity; an inert element,

which it should be the duty of historians to stimulate to a self-conscious activity, in opposition to that passive obedience which is so forcibly insisted on by learned and unlearned corporations all over the world. For they are anxious to destroy man's right to use his reason in an independent, free, and pure inquiry into all the mental, historical, and natural phenomena surrounding him. It would be an excellent, though not very agreeable task for a statistical society to discover the relative proportion of thinkers in a certain given number of human beings, and the relative number of non-thinkers; the result could not fail to be perfectly appalling.

The cause of this phenomenon is that we possess richly paid institutions nearly all over the world, which make it their business to stifle the spirit of doubt and inquiry in man. To ask a question, to dissent from an authority, to find fault with an *alma mater* for her obstinacy of wearing her old-fashioned mental caps and gowns, are all hideous crimes. The historical spirit is to be the spirit of the man *in cathedrâ*, and not the broad philosophical view of the student of humanity. History is to be confined to little tracts on kings and queens, often in ten or twelve bulky volumes, on divines and soldiers, or to little biographical anecdotes, all of which are certainly not history in a higher sense.

It may be interesting to quote some passages from the printed instructions which I received from a Japanese gentleman, who invited me to write a handbook "On the Science of History," for Japanese scholars, living at a distance of nearly 10,000 miles. He says,—

"You will be particularly careful to assign paramount importance to that part of the subject which relates especially to the great advantages which result from the due combination of facts and of philosophy in the course of the same history; and to point out how infinitely greater is the benefit derived from the work in which events are thoughtfully traced to their causes, and connected with their consequences, than from the work in which the writer recounts a long series of facts, deducing no lessons from them, and thinking that, when he has enumerated them, he has done all that was necessary."

This, indeed, is a humiliating lesson to us who still neglect the study of "general history," which figures in none of the prospectuses and examination papers of our universities, although it forms the only basis of a thorough higher education, and is taught in all the gymnasia and universities of Austria, Hungary, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, America, and is sure to form one of the most important branches of studies in Japan.

Of what use can all the exertions of our great philosophical thinkers have been, if we are not able to trace in their works, reduced often to a few pages, laws that pervade the most subtle actions of the human mind, namel y, reasoning? Have Descartes, Spinoza, and John Locke only written for their time, and do they not form the most important component elements in our present mode of thinking? Must we read ALL the philosophical books that have ever been written, to form some ideas of the historical development, progress, or retrogression of idealism and realism? Those who are most concerned in checking the study of "general history," from a scientific point of view, assert that it is impossible to know all the dates, events, and facts that have occurred, and that such a study would lead to a mere smattering of knowledge fostering conceit and scepticism. "We ought to confine ourselves to such parts of history as we may able to grasp." "There is nothing more dangerous than a little knowledge." But do these pedantic wiseacres not see that what they advocate is that very identical partial, detached, unconnected smattering of historical knowledge which produces that very pride against which they are so eloquent and busy to warn us? "General history," known in the broadest outlines, will produce a more beneficial influence on the culture of the mind than any amount of isolated facts, compiled generally to deaden, instead of vivifying, the reasoning faculties of those who are crammed with such often utterly useless "specialities." But the opposition to the study of "general history" in our country, from the time of Bolingbroke, has been systematic. Phrases, such as those above mentioned, have been concocted and repeated *ad*

nauseam, until they have unhappily become an article of faith with us to doubt which is rank heresy. But it is none the less an indisputable fact that general surveys of history are possible, and that whole periods may be concentrated into a few lines conveying a deep insight into the general causes of facts, under which we may bring any isolated incident. Thus we are enabled to make ourselves acquainted with the historical development of modern philosophy in its two diverging, and yet completing phases of idealism and realism. We can trace the action and reaction of the human mind in methodically generalizing its various phenomena ; and with this view I will place before you, though in condensed form, the principles of Descartes, Spinoza, and John Locke,—for the principles of these *three* systems, though developments of Lord Bacon's philosophy, are the causes of the form, essence, and power of our own mode of reasoning.

Descartes * began with the dictum, "*Cogito, ergo sum ;*" placed mind above matter, and entered with the flying colours of idealism into the great contest for truth. There are, however, many things that *are*, but do not *think*. Such are minerals, plants, imponderable chemical substances, which all *are* but do not *think*. The assertion, "I think," is undoubtedly a proof of existence, but there is no casual connection between the thinking and being. The sentence as the basis of a philosophical system is too ambiguous in its form. It would have been the same had he said, "*Sum, ergo cogito*," he would then have started from the opposite, namely, a realistic point of view. Thinking is a faculty which is the effect of which our organization is the

* Generally called "Renatus Cartesius," born 1596, at La Haye, in Touraine. His principal works were "Meditationes de Prima Philosophia" (Amsterdam, 1641), and his "Principia Philosophia" (Amsterdam, 1644). He was one of the most distinguished mathematicians. His "Analytical Geometry" (1637), edited by Schooter, with lucid commentaries, and his "Dioptrique" (1639) are indestructible literary monuments of his intellectual power. He wrote in Latin. His complete works were published in nine volumes (Amsterdam, 1692—1701). He died at Stockholm, 1650.

cause, and through which the thinker becomes conscious of his own being.

First there must be a being, the being must be so organized as to be able to think, and then only consciousness becomes possible. The great merit of Descartes does not consist in having enunciated this dazzling axiom, but in the following courageous confession :—

"For years I have perceived," says he, in his "Meditationes de Prima Philosophia," "how many errors I have accepted as truths in my childhood, and how doubtful everything became that I later built upon them; now I am obliged to destroy everything from the very foundation, and to begin again with first principles, if I wish to assert something firm and lasting in science."

In these few words Descartes has given us the mental martyrdom of all those who, having been one-sidedly educated, find suddenly out that after a toil of ten or twelve years they have to throw away what appeared to them true, and to begin thinking from the beginning. For all that our reasoning faculty has not directly acquired, and of which it did not become convinced, is mere opinion, inherited or engrafted on our mind by education, by authoritative influences, or through our senses. Such opinions, rooted in us, can never develop into real convictions and self-conscious knowledge, unless we work them out in our own thought, beginning by *doubting* everything (*de omnibus dubitandum*), next *inquiring* into everything, and finally becoming *sure* that our inquiry has led us to a *cognition* of the real essence of the object under question.

The commencement of all knowledge is doubt.

Doubt must be methodical; and, in a philosophical sense, is not a state of uncertainty, but, on the contrary, a state of *perfect* and *positive* negation ; it is the negative certainty that things beyond my "ego," my entity, may not be as they appear, and that I have to find out their real nature by means of positive negations, leading to positive affirmations. I *think*, I *doubt*, I *inquire*, and I *know*, were the four phases through

which Descartes wished us to pass to build up a philosophical system. He thus endeavoured—

1st. To begin with an unbiassed inquiry into the principles of human knowledge.

2nd. To place the study of nature on a strictly metaphysical ground.

Descartes insisted that we should make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with our faculty of thinking. This knowledge ought to lead us, not only to the conviction that thinking is the very first and most certain cognition, but that we, by this means alone, can convince ourselves of our own existence.

Spirit or thinking is, therefore, entirely different from matter or being, which being becomes an entity only when recognised by the spirit, or when conscious of its own self through spirit. This is, in fact, the old idealistic denial of matter, and has led to our modern spiritualistic school. Dr. Kuno Fischer, in his "Geschichte der neueren Philosophie" (History of Modern Philosophy), Mannheim, 1854, ascribes the whole system of the followers of Descartes (especially of Fichte) which they worked out to a misplaced comma. Descartes did not say, "*Cogito, ergo sum*," but his sentence ought to read, "*Ac proinde hæc cognitio ego cogito, ergo sum est omnium prima et certissima, quæ cui libet ordine philosophanti occurrat*" (The knowledge, therefore, I think, that is I exist, is the first and most certain that must strike every kind of philosopher).

The fallacy of the axiom is not overcome by changing the position of the comma, or even by bringing the sentence into a syllogistic form: "Thinking *is*—I *think*—therefore I *am*." The whole is a mere dialectical phantasm. I am, though I may not think; I may sleep, I may dream, I may be in a state of madness, in a delirium, in a swoon; I may *be*, yet I may not *think*. Descartes's statement naturally fostered intuition, deduction, and idealism, in spite of his firmly pronounced scepticism. He apparently doubted methodically, only to be the more convinced that he had found on the path of meditation God in the universe, and mind with innate

ideas in man. This was a charming and poetical idealism. It was all soul and no body ; all thought and no senses. The senses were mere messengers to convey to us, not outward impressions, but *ideal* emanations from the Deity. At last he must have asked himself, By what means do these messengers speak to our senses ? And the inscrutable monster—matter, as *reality*, stood before him, claiming its eternal rights.

With a heated imagination he set to work, and discovered the *First Cause* of matter, and re-created the universe *à priori* out of motion. Motion was to explain all the phenomena around us. Motion was to be the real cause of every effect. Descartes was always capable of stimulating our faculty of thinking, and exciting us to apply his own methodical scepticism in the use of our reason, and to find at last in his own system the truth that the most brilliant hypotheses are not facts. Had Plato not preceded him, Descartes might have kept humanity for thousands of years in the adamantine chains of idealism; but as it was, he only promoted the quicker the development of realism.

Faulty generalizations often lead to correct specializations. The thinking being of Descartes was father to the pantheistic system of Spinoza, and inspired John Locke to forge by the flame of reason the connecting links between mind and matter, idealism and realism.

As in all *à priori* assumptions there was another great danger in Descartes's maxim, "I think, therefore I am." The phrase naturally led to a terrible and blind egotism. "I am" became the only certainty. To fondle this "I am," to believe that the whole world had been created for this "I am," revived, and served Jesuits and Jansenists to support their contradictory, yet often in essence entirely analogous assertions.

Whenever matter or reality was placed in a subordinate position, and spirit or the ideal acquired a prominent influence, the disturbed balance in the completing elements engendered in ethics, politics, and philosophy an inordinate amount of conceited dogmatism, pride, and intellectual short-

sightedness. Philosophy was based by Descartes on *innate* ideas, and not on experience. Ideas were assumed to be there—where there was an entity, an "I am." The connection between cause and effect was sorely disturbed, or altogether overlooked. In fact, the effect was taken for the cause, and the cause pushed into a secondary false position; the real state of the mutual primary and secondary relations of mind and matter was subverted. Realities were assumed to be mere illusions of our imagination, or vague notions of our intellect. We found ourselves after 2,000 years on pure Platonic ground. *Ideal* archetypes of *realities* were to be sought for (not in mere words) in innate ideas. Everything was to be turned again into abstractions, and the world to be reconstructed out of our inner consciousness with the help of ideas. This proceeding is therefore due to the realistic French, and not to the metaphysical Germans.

In spite of his idealism Descartes's system contained much that was grievous which the papal court labelled as "poison,' issuing a decree through the congregation of cardinals (1643) "forbidding all persons, of whatever position or condition, to print, to read, or even to keep his works, or those of any other French philosopher." (See Fabricius in Syll. Script. de V. R. C., page 328.)

The mental poison in Descartes's writings, when analyzed consists of the following pernicious ingredients against infallible authority and submissive credulity.

1. Pure logic, teaching us correctly to think.
2. Pointing out the abuses of definitions.
3. Exposing the absurdities we incur in discussing the infinite.
4. Warning us against an indiscriminate and false use of words.
5. Reproaching us with a tenacious love of prejudices.
6. Exposing the origin and growth of inveterate customs and habits.
7. Suggesting a universal language, so as to make ourselves acquainted with the general mode of thinking of men all over the earth.

8. His firm belief in the progress of the mental culture of humanity.

Descartes was passionate, fiery, visionary, and enterprising; his lofty genius conceived a variety of hypotheses, based on ideas which he arranged into categories. They were either mere reflections of outward impressions (*adventitiæ*), or of our own make; namely, independent productions of our thinking faculty (*factitiæ*), complex ideas, produced by mere combinations of previous impressions. The independent ideas in man led Descartes to a separate Deity from the universe—a God who did not manifest Himself in the universe, but who stood outside, or above the universe, just as *ideally* thinking spirit stood in opposition to the *really* living "I am."

We possess thus three distinct principal elements according, to Descartes's philosophy:—

1. God as a special entity.
2. Spirit in man as a thinking entity.
3. Matter as the embodiment of the "I am," the universe and the thinking being.

The causal connection between the three elements was entirely ignored by Descartes. God, man, and universe were assumed to be separate entities, and Descartes failed, through this isolation of the three elements, to show us the mutual interdependence of the three, that were, as if by chance, standing side by side of each other, not forming ONE mighty interwoven WHOLE. Descartes brought the antiquated scholastic verbosity about the "First Cause" into a more refined and plausible dialectical form. Descartes's Deity is like Plato's God—He *may* exist; but both Plato and Descartes fail to prove how He *must* exist.

This was undertaken by a mighty thinker, long misunderstood, abused, insulted, calumniated, and cursed as an atheist. This man was Baruch, or, as he called himself, Benedict Spinoza.* Whenever I open one of our so-called *learned*

* Born at Amsterdam, 1632. His works were—"Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiæ, pars. I. et II." (Amsterdam, 1663); "Tractatus Theologico-Politicus" (Amsterdam, 1670); "Ethica more geometrico

English paper storehouses of knowledge, an encyclopædia, and look for the article under the heading "Spinoza," I find, to my utter astonishment, contrary to all truth, the accusation posted against his name in one form or another, "the greatest atheist."

Descartes was brought up by Jesuits, Spinoza by Talmudists, and John Locke by Oxford Bibliophiles (taken not in the general sense of "lovers of books," but in the special sense of "lovers of the Bible," or Bibliolatres). These three philosophers complete one another, and form the basis of our progressive modern mode of thinking. They serve us also, most impressively, to trace the law of single action and reaction and complex action in the ideal world, if we take into consideration the instruction they must have received, and the effects which such instruction has produced.

Descartes was not accused of atheism, but his *mechanical* explanation of the universe served our most realistic philosophers. In fact, our one-sided materialists, who look upon man as a mere machine, wound up by air, water, and food, base their arguments principally on Descartes; discarding his Deity, they acknowledge "motion" as the all and everything which is recognisable in the universe. This proves that one may talk on the entity of God, and yet lead to a flat denial of the Deity.

Spinoza, on the other hand, was excommunicated and cursed by the ignorant and bigoted Talmudists, and other blind sectarians of various denominations, who probably never read one line of his works, or who, in ignoring his deep philosophical principles, condemn him as an atheist; yet Spinoza was as much opposed to the ante-Christian classical, as to the post-Christian scholastic mode of thinking, and sought GOD, and GOD alone, in the minutest pebble, the sparkling diamond, the smallest drop of water, the myriads of twinkling stars, the force of the wind, the roaring of thunder, the flash-

demonstrata;" "Politica;" "De Emendatione Intellectus;" "Epistolæ et ad eas Responsiones;" "Compendium Grammatices Hebrææ." He died 1677.

ing of lightning, the voice of justice, our impulses of goodness, our love of wisdom, the pulsation of our heart, the thought-bubbles of our brain, the glorious works of arts and sciences. God was everywhere. God was literally the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end of everything. God was the breath of life, the essence of matter. God was all in all to him, and yet this master mind was abused, and is still branded in blind hatred as an atheist. And why?

As an answer to this question I will quote some passages from the preface to his celebrated work, "Tractatus Theologico-Politicus de Libertate Philosophandi," in which he says—

"I often wondered how people who boastingly profess the Christian religion, that is, sentiments of love, good-will, peace, moderation and faithfulness to everybody, should be able to quarrel in the most egotistical spirit, and daily evince the bitterest hatred against one another, that it is much easier to recognise their religious feelings in the latter than in their virtues. It has come to pass long ago that we are able to recognise the religious character nearly in everybody, be he Christian, Turk, Jew, or heathen, only in certain outward formalities and appearances, and their visiting this or that church (place of worship); and lastly, that they cherish this or that opinion, swear by the words of this or that teacher; in everything else they live the same life. Inquiring into the causes of this evil, I was not long left in uncertainty as to its origin, namely, that the masses of the people consider it their religious duty to look upon the ceremonies of the churches as essential, and on its appointments as comfortable livings, and the clergy as alone worthy of the highest consideration. For as soon as these false notions spread, the very worst were seized with an all-powerful desire to enter the holy office, and the zeal to propagate the divine faith degenerated into sordid covetousness and ambition. The sacred temple was turned into a stage, on which not religious teachers, but orators were to be heard, who did not care to instruct the people, but rather to excite their admiration, and to condemn publicly those who held different opinions, and to preach only what was new, incomprehensible, and most delighted the crowd. This naturally produced strife, hostility and hatred, that no lapse of time could mitigate. We must not be astonished that of the old religions (the Jewish and Christian)

nothing was left but outward formalities, more used by the masses to flatter than to worship God. Faith thus became credulity and prejudice. And what prejudice! Turning reasonable men into brutes; preventing every one from using his free judgment to distinguish truth from falsehood. Such prejudices were efficaciously used to extinguish the light of reason. Piety—O eternal God!—and religion were to consist in absurd mysteries, and those who haughtily despised reason and rejected intellect, as of evil by nature, were considered inspired by God. And yet, if they possessed but one spark of the divine light, they would not be so senselessly proud, and learn to worship God more wisely, and instead of distinguishing themselves by hatred, foster love towards every one."

These and similar passages, full of charity and real Christian feeling, full of truthful and forbearing warnings against the evil-doers, controversialists, and obscurantists, who made it a point to use religion as a pretext, to promote their own worldly interests, through a distortion or oppression of our reasoning faculty, brought upon him the reproach of atheism. Had Spinoza dissected God, scorned piety, used Greek and Roman philosophers in union with Hebrew prophets to exalt the temporal power of churches and their priests, he would have been looked upon as one of the most pious teachers of mankind, whose works would have been recommended as indispensable to high culture. But he did not only not deny God, he insisted upon stern morality, founded upon the unity of God, nature, and man; the isolated three elements of Descartes were *à priori* united by Spinoza. He considered that our studies ought to be—

1. Metaphysics, treating of God, the eternal essence from which everything sprang (de Deo).

2. Physics, comprising the origin of nature and mind (de natura et origine mentis).

3. Psychology, tracing the causes of our sensations, impressions, and passions (de origine et natura affectuum).

4. Physiology, consisting of researches into the causes of man's subordination to wild impulses (de servitute humana, seu de affectuum viribus).

5. Ethics, summing up man's intellectual qualities and his right to freedom (de potentia intellectus, seu de libertate humana).

His method in all these branches of philosophy was strictly geometrical.

Spinoza was unquestionably one of the first philosophers who paved the way for that mighty Biblical criticism that did not irreverently destroy, but reverently sifted incongruities from facts, impossibilities from probabilities, essentials from accidentals, truths from myths. He was the first to oppose Maimonides, in whom he saw one of those half-rationalistic, half-bigoted, and altogether half-hearted characters, who would gladly serve *two* masters, so as to have a considerable profit from both.

Ebn Ezra certainly preceded Spinoza on the field of Biblical criticism, but he was too timid, although he may have influenced Spinoza's mode of thinking. Spinoza studied the Cabala, and "could not help laughing at the nonsense of twaddling Cabalists." The organization of his brain was from childhood so perfect that he never could understand anything contrary to reason. To study the gradual development of such a man, in whom the thoughts of humanity, of his own times, and of those that preceded him, were concentrically reflected; who blended into *one* negation and affirmation, mind and matter, first cause and final aim, the finite and the infinite, must be of the very highest interest, if we seek to know anything of the historical development of man's intellectual life.

Whether Spinoza was a mere direct outgrowth of Descartes's system, or not, is a disputed fact, and, like all similar disputes, has aroused passion without settling the controversy. Nothing is easier than to say "yes" or "no." There must be many proofs for the affirmation, as well as for the negation, before the one or the other may be firmly established. That Descartes must have influenced the mode of thinking and speculating of Spinoza can scarcely be doubted; that Spinoza had an abundant original power of thinking independently of

any of his predecessors is also true, but individuals can neither in philosophy, nor in science altogether detach themselves from other thinkers; they cannot help breathing the intellectual atmosphere of past times and their own. Spinoza tried to discover the essence of substances, namely, that of the first substance of all substances. This tendency he had in common with Descartes.

"The first substance," with Descartes and his school, "was a something that had no need of anything else as the subject in which to reside; but that all other substances have need of something else as their principle and cause." God was the absolute first substance; but "what were the other substances, the finite beings? were they not substances? were they not subjects of attributes, and not merely attributes of one subject?" This question was answered by Spinoza differently from Descartes though he may have used the very mode of arguing of his antagonist. The assumption of mind and matter as separate entities must lead in the end to a union of the two. If mind be the productive cause of matter, we state that something having totally different attributes is the producer of something that it does not contain. Ideas may work on matter, but ideas will never produce matter. The solution of this dilemma caused endless difficulties, and the historian who would venture to ignore them, or to mistake the solution, as it has been attempted at different times by different writers, would in either case be guilty of the grossest outrage on truth.

And yet this is the very fashion in which history is written, "a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance," as Shakespeare says in Hamlet. We shall never be able to advance the study of true history if we are not capable of divesting ourselves of our subjective one-sidedness, and learn to look on men and facts as outward objects, which we have to represent in their individual nature, free of every religious, social, and political bias.

Spinoza had the courage to propound that our faculty of thinking is not a necessary sequence of spirit as a *separate*

entity. "*Thought*, like *extension*, could be but a property of the material substance, existing simultaneously under these two attributes." Thus, what was *absolute* with Descartes became *relative* with Spinoza. Intelligence and will, ideas and consciousness, were mere modifications of organism. The Deity, without matter in which to manifest Himself, is a nonentity. Right and wrong are notions incompatible with the Deity as the source of everything visible and invisible; "everything that happens can be but the necessary effect of the energy (force or power) of the sole substance."

In nature, as in politics, Spinoza reduced everything to force, in conformity with real facts, as *motion* is but the effect of force, having the power and will to produce motion. He laid thus down in his philosophical system the principle that the only substance that exists by itself must be God in matter, that God is in everything, and everything is in God. The absolute idea was with him the all-pervading force, of which bodies were but modalities of motion or rest; and our will and reason were rooted in the infinite idea. Motion, rest, will, and reason were thus "naturized nature" (natura naturata). The principle pervading all his writings was that "to know the effect is really nothing more than a perfect cognition of the cause; for the knowledge of the effect depends on the knowledge of the cause."

I may add, from a historical point of view, that history does not depend on a knowledge of isolated facts, but on a clear knowledge of the causes that produce facts. History studied for such a purpose is alone history.

Spinoza's whole life was devoted to one task—to separate religion and science. Religion is based on emotions. Science has reason for its foundation. Religion is idealism in one form or another; science is realism. He clearly saw the conflict between the two elements producing intellectual thunderstorms, like an accumulation of negative and positive electricity, and he thought that the current of science was alone the vivifying element. He could not yet see the conductor in a proper balance of the two conflicting, yet com-

pleting elements. At last he retired from the worldly strife, and in solitude pondered over the transitoriness of all things, devoting himself to the exclusive contemplation of the eternal —of God as manifested in nature. He was no atheist, his whole soul was inspired with the love of God. It is one of the most glorious tasks of historians to restore the tarnished fame of great men, who, voluntarily or ignorantly, have been exposed to calumny, and to assign them their proper place in the historical pantheon, in which all ought to be welcome "who out of their reason's bright fulness have spoken, and shown their innermost thoughts and feelings to the world." Goethe exclaims only too truly, these "have evermore been crucified and burned!" History has done away with this shameful ingratitude, and we dare now to show the past in its proper hues and tints.

Dr. Kuno Fischer compares Spinoza in philosophy with Shakespeare in poetry. Neither in the universe (the makrokosmos), nor in the smaller world (the mikrokosmos) of man's sensations, feelings, thoughts, passions, and actions, can there be any effect without a cause. The most minute phenomenon has the origin of its existence in some force that produced it, not only in the material but also in the intellectual sphere. The phenomena of life with their ever-varying forms are the conflicts of man's self-conscious nature with outward circumstances. This is the soul of the drama, this is the essence of philosophy and history. Nature is eternally in conflict with itself and its self-created productions. The study of this conflict is either—

Cosmogony, when extended to the universe;

Botany, confined to plants;

Psychology, restricted to the mental functions in man;

Physiology, applied to the body of man;

Biology, treating of life in general;

History, representing humanity in general, and man in particular, in their uninterrupted struggle to attain civilization; or

The Drama, showing individual man brought through his passions into conflict with other men.

"Man's destinies evolve from his actions, his actions from his passions, his passions from his character, and his character from the natural and historical combination of circumstances." Spinoza's philosophy was the history of the universe, like Shakespeare's dramas the history of man, in whom, like in the phenomena of nature, certain causes produce their ever-truthful effects. To understand Shakespeare is to trace the motives of his feeling and acting characters, and the acquired conviction that they could not have acted otherwise than they do. The study of Shakespeare on such a basis has yet to come. We treat Shakespeare as we treat history ; we give a list of various readings in the different folio or quarto editions, quarrel on an ambiguous sentence, but cannot see the philosophical, historical, and universal spirit in the dramatist, embracing the whole of humanity, and giving the original embodiments—the prototypes of all human passions, with a correctness and truthfulness to be equalled by nature alone. The grandeur of Shakespeare consists in his power to stand above his characters, inspiring them with his genius, but leaving them perfect freedom to develop out of their own inner nature. He stands in the same relation to them as Spinoza's God to the universe. The Deity is everywhere, pervades everything, yet permits every force to act according to its elements, allows combinations and dissolutions to go on in eternal variety, whilst He himself is the eternally immutable ONE.

John Locke * was familiar with the one-sided idealistic philosophy of Descartes, and the pantheistic system of Spinoza,—the one starting with innate ideas, the other with a God-inspired matter as the eternal, yet varying, manifestation of the Deity, from whom it could not be separated. Locke was neither passionate nor fiery like Descartes, nor visionary and penetrating like Spinoza. He was collected and sober, driven to philosophy by the aversion with which he was filled against all metaphysical speculations at the Uni-

* Born 1632, died 1704. His works were published in three volumes, London, 1722 ; but a later edition in ten volumes, London, 1801—1812 is more complete.

versity of Oxford, where pedantic scholasticism had not yet given way to the more modern ideas of the times. He studied Descartes, and after twenty years' hard work published his "Essay concerning Human Understanding," the very storehouse of all present and future psychologies and "physiologies of the mind." The assertion that we have innate ideas had not been proved by Descartes; Locke felt this, and undertook to study man, not "*ab ovo*," as our modern anthropogenists do, but "*ab infante*." Observation and experience were to be the pedestals on which to raise up a pillar of ratiocination.

The child certainly made a wry face at something *bitter*, and was delighted at something *sweet;* but the abstract idea of *bitter* and *sweet* was after all the effect of which ipecacuhana or sugar was the cause. Aristotle was the first to assert, that our mind was a "tabula rasa," in these words,—"Tabula in qua nihil est *actu* scriptum." This certainly corresponds to Locke's "white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas." Though Aristotle may have enunciated the above sentence, it was the immortal merit of John Locke to have worked out the apophthegm of Aristotle into a strictly philosophical system. "There can be nothing in our *mind* that has not come there through our *senses*," was the axiom which Locke proclaimed. There is not *one line* in any of the innumerable writings of all the poets, philosophers, scientists, and theologians of the world that is not rooted in some impression of the senses, and is not a complex combination of such impressions, which, having produced sensations, turn into consciousness.

Bacon denied the possibility of a knowledge of the *supernatural* (which word in fact, has no meaning at all, as nothing can be *above* nature), and Locke went a step further, and denied that we can know anything of the *supersensual*. Man is a passive receptacle of outer impressions, which impressions act on his senses, producing sensations, of which sensations he may become conscious, and out of which elements he constructs, and has constructed, everything, even in the most abstruse, idealistic, and metaphysical spheres. Impressions

and sensations, or, as Locke says, "reflections," are the only gates or windows, openings or crevices, through which the dark night of our intellect may receive some rays of knowledge. Those who have never troubled themselves with the slow and gradual development of man's intellectual life, cannot possibly have any consciousness of the history of man's thought. Strictly speaking, Locke was an *original* genius. We may trace his sensualism back through Gassendi, Lord Bacon, Campanella, Occam, and Roger Bacon, to Lucretius, Zeno the Stoic, Epikurus, Confucius, Pythagoras, Thales of Miletus, and then find it on the Ganges, in the Vaîse-Shika philosophy of Kanàda, and in the Nyâyâ theories of Gôtama. Locke's system may be found in Sokrates, and especially in Aristotle ; this surely does not detract from the merit of Locke. I endeavoured in these papers to trace that conflict between idealism and realism which forms the only possible basis of our mental history, and every page of that history proved that this conflict is the very essence of our philosophical vitality. All past, present, and future philosophers must needs range themselves either under the one or the other banner, or try to combine the two elements in order to promote true philosophy in its glorious search for truth. What was Locke, therefore, to do, if he intended to philosophize ? He had no alternative but to become an idealist or a realist. Experience was to be the starting-point with him, and from that point he certainly built up a system which in methodical arrangement, comprehensible order, simplicity of ratiocination, and depth of thought is unsurpassed. Whatever his predecessors may have achieved on the same field, in the same groove, none of them succeeded so thoroughly as Locke in tracing the origin of ideas, classifying them as ideas of perception, thought, doubt, belief, reasoning, knowledge, and will, all of which are rooted in sensations and reflections.

Substance, meaning absolute substance, cannot be grasped at all by our finite senses, but cause and effect may be known through sensations and reflection. "Right and wrong are radically nothing but the idea of happiness or misery attached

to the observance or infraction of law." Condillac went a step further than Locke. He reduced all ideas to one source —sensations, and thus constituted the unity of sensualism.

Our great mistake in studying philosophy as well as in studying history is to begin with certain periods, the nearer to our own times the better, and ignore the fact that in philosophy, as the sphere of man's *mental* action, and in history, as the sphere of his mental and bodily actions, there is a strict causal connection in the gradual progressive development of humanity. To talk glibly on John Stuart Mill, and to know nothing of Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Hume, Hobbes, Reid, Stewart, Sir Wm. Hamilton, Leibnitz, Wolf, Jacobi, Kant, Fichte, and Hegel, is to know nothing of John Stuart Mill. To speak of the Greeks and Romans without having a knowledge of India, Persia, Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, is to know nothing of the Greeks and Romans.

All history, in its most detailed facts, only then receives a scientific lustre of real usefulness, when the student or writer becomes conscious of the causes of which the isolated phenomena are the effects. That such a study from a general point of view should be neglected, or altogether ignored, is lamentable in the extreme.

Facts were reduced by Locke to three categories :—

1. Natural phenomena.
2. The actions of men.
3. Opinions.

We have thus the natural sciences in all their different branches, history, and philosophy. But all three categories had their gradual developments; nature itself, the actions of men, however complicated, and their thoughts, still more complex, had a chaotic beginning. The nonsensical notion, repeated continually by shallow thinkers, that each book or work of art is to be a *new fact*, and to establish a *new opinion*, is in itself a ridiculous paradox. For what does *new* mean ? Any one unacquainted with Indian literature may consider Plato's opinions new ; whilst all that Plato, Descartes, Spinoza, and Locke have said is condensed in a masterly manner in

the Bhagavagîta (the divine song) of the Indians, more than 3,000 years old, and forming part of the grand epic poem, the Mahâbhârata. The whole moral code laid down by Sokrates is contained in the "Tchōng-Yông" of Confucius. God, universe, and truth are spoken of as though we were listening to a professor of ethics of our own times. The "logos" and the "nous" are handled by Confucius just as they were treated more than 2,200 years later by Immanuel Kant. To point out the oneness of mental essence in endless forms in the development of humanity is the task of history, forming the only true foundation of our higher intellectual culture.

I shall never cease to point out the fallacy of the assertion that general history, whether with regard to philosophy, poetry, science, or politics, could not be mastered by a student, and that our brain must be crushed under the weight of details, fortified in preconceived prejudices, "of which every one is ready to complain that they mislead other men or parties, as if he were free, and had none of his own. This being objected on all sides, it is agreed that it is a fault and a hindrance to knowledge. What now is the cure? No other but this, that every man should let alone others' prejudices and examine his own," says Locke, in his "Essay concerning the Human Understanding;" and his editor, to show that this thought was not original, quotes "Rochefoucauld," whose correct name was "*La* Rochefoucauld:" "Tout le monde trouve à redire en autruy, ce qu'on trouve à redire en luy;" which is undoubtedly similar in essence but totally different in form. The only way to remove this great cause of ignorance and error, namely, prejudice, is the unwearied study of "general history" from a scientific point of view.

Whatever the short-comings of John Locke's philosophical system may be, he was undoubtedly a mighty pioneer in the advancement of our reasoning power in arts, history, and sciences. He attempted for the first time, in an entirely new form, free from all metaphysical dreaminess, spiritualistic incomprehensibility, and realistic coarseness, to trace the

possible contents, range, and scientific character of the human understanding through a pure and unbiassed observation. He refrained from twisting mind and matter into arbitrary, unintelligible categories, but showed our mental faculties on a rational, real, and natural basis. Locke dared to oppose the one-sided rationalism which was the direct outgrowth of Descartes and Spinoza's systems, and to scorn the pedantic teachings of our universities, which were still kept in the fetters of Plato's and Aristotle's antiquated and superseded hallucinations and categories.

Philosophy was thus though not entirely, yet considerably, purged from prejudices, misunderstandings, and vapid verbiage. *Thought* was to be placed above *faith*, yet faith was not altogether discarded, but was considered necessary where our limited understanding did not suffice to give an explanation. Faith, in fact, began where knowledge ceased. This conviction created a century later that movement in Germany which was inaugurated by Schoppenhauer, and is carried on by E. Hartmann, engendering what some are pleased to call "Agnosticism;" a state of "no knowing" far preferable to a state of utterly false knowledge, fostering credulity. "Credulity, however wide-spread, was no proof of truth; even revelation ought to stand the test of reason, and fanaticism is no criterion for the divine origin of any creed," are the golden assertions of John Locke; otherwise we might assume that Buddhism and Mahometanism must be the only religions of a true *divine* origin.

With a trenchant logic, Locke dispersed the brilliant fallacies of Descartes's dogmatism, rejected in a free critical spirit all previous metaphysical problems, and showed humanity at large that philosophical systems, apparently true, may be merely verbal chimeras without any real foundation. He became thus the founder of an entirely new school of philosophy, breaking with old traditions, not only in the realms of abstract thoughts, but also in religion and politics. His "Letters on Tolerance" influenced Voltaire and the French Encyclopædists—but above all, the genial Herder and the Titanic

Lessing, in Germany; who both made tolerance, humanity and forbearance the very foundation of their teachings and' philosophical researches. Locke's "Thoughts on Education'' inspired Rousseau's "Emil," but above all Basedow's writings in Germany, who was the first to systematize education on scientific principles, and to teach "humanism" or philanthropy, in spite of his many crotchety notions about classics, and their pernicious influences. Finally, Locke's "Treatise on Government" furnished, in union with Hobbes' "De Civet," the whole contents of the "Contrat Social," the sacred textbook of the French Revolution of 1789.

To point out Locke's further influence on the progressive development of human philosophy will be the object of my next paper, on Newton, Hume, Leibnitz, Wolf, Lessing, Kant, and Fichte.

NOTICES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF WALTHAM HOLY CROSS.

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ROBERT FULLER, the last of the abbots-regular of Waltham was ousted in 1540, with the entire body of his canons, receiving a yearly pension of £200. In fond remembrance of the place where he had so long ruled, he gave back £10 of that sum to the abbey, and afterwards presented a chalice of silver, which was sold for £7. In his will he bequeathed certain sums of money to Waltham Abbey, as also to St. Bartholomew's and St. Sepulchre's in London, for alterations and other purposes, and for the maintenance of religious services for his soul. The will contains the following interesting clause:—"To my most dere and dred Soveraigne lorde Kinge Henry viij. xl.£ beseeching hym to be good and gracious to myn executors in the execution of this my last will and testament." This abbot made an attempt, which was unsuccessful, to preserve his position in the abbey by presenting Henry VIII. with the princely estate of Copt Hall.

In 1549 certain lands and tenements were appropriated to the support of a chantry priest:—"The seid chantry is nowe vacant and without enye incum[bent], and haythe been this yere or more. . . . The seid prest to saye dyuyne service in the perishe churche of Waltham."*

Dr. Edmund Freake was one of the canons ousted from Waltham on March 23, 1540,† receiving a yearly pension of five pounds. His name occurs in a document relating to the surrender of the abbey. It has not been ascertained whether

* Certificates of Colleges and Chantries, *temp.* Edward VI.

† In dates the modern style is adopted throughout the paper.

or not he was a native of the town of Waltham, although it has been stated that he was born in Essex about the year 1516. He graduated in Arts at Cambridge; was ordained a deacon by Bishop Bonner, December 19, 1544, and a priest, June 18, 1545; was made Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1564; was installed Canon of Westminster in September of that year; was appointed to preach before Queen Elizabeth in Lent, 1565, and on October 25 was by patent constituted a Canon of Windsor; became rector of Purleigh, in Essex, June 13, 1567; was appointed to a canonry in the church of Canterbury, March 28, 1568; was installed Dean of Rochester, April 10, 1570; became Dean of Sarum, September 18, and on November 20 of the same year resigned the rectory of Foulmire, Cambridgeshire. On February 15, 1572, he was elected Bishop of Rochester, and on May 29 in the same year was appointed the Queen's almoner. On July 31, 1575, he was elected Bishop of Norwich, when he resigned the archdeaconry of Canterbury; and on October 26, 1584, the Queen nominated him to the bishopric of Worcester. He died in possession of this last see, March 21, 1591, and was buried in its cathedral. Cecily, his widow, died on July 15, 1599, and was buried at Purleigh. Freake was the author of several works.*

During the term of Abbot Fuller's government an event of considerable historical interest occurred in the town of Waltham. In August, 1529, a private conference was held at the house of Mr. Cressey, in the Romeland, near the Abbey, to debate the subject of the king's divorce from Katherine of Arragon, the king himself being present, attended by his secretary, Dr. Gardiner, and his almoner, Dr. Foxe, afterwards Bishop of Hereford. Cranmer was there at the time, having under his care two young gentlemen, sons of Mr. Cressey, whose wife was related to Cranmer. While at supper the two doctors warmly discussed the subject of the divorce, and invited Cranmer, who had long been known to them as a student at Cambridge, to join in the debate. At first he hesitated to express an opinion on so grave a matter, alleging

* Athenæ Cantab., vol. ii., p. 96.

that he had not given it sufficient consideration; but finally suggested that a decision could be as well, or better, arrived at in England than at Rome. On the following day, when the king spoke of procuring a new commission from Rome, Dr. Foxe replied, "We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your Majesty than to make travel so far as to Rome any more in your Highness's cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at Waltham." In deference to the king's desire he quoted the suggestion made by Cranmer, his "old acquaintance." Cranmer was at once sent for and entrusted by Henry with the management of the affair. "Thus did Waltham," says Fuller, "give Rome the first deadly blow in England, occasioning the Pope's primacy to totter therein till it tumbled down at last."*

The Cressey Family.—The Mr. Cressey referred to above was probably William Cressey, son and heir of Robert and Margaret Cressey, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Cobham, of Sterborough, county Kent, by whom he had—(1) James, who married Joan, daughter of William West, Lord Delaware; (2) Christopher; (3) Edmond (ADD. MSS. 5524, fol. 184). Cranmer's niece Susan, daughter of John Cranmer, married Thomas Cobham, brother of Lord George Cobham (Todd's Life of Cranmer). The Cressey family was well known in Waltham and Cheshunt in the sixteenth century (see Waltham Abbey and Cheshunt Parish Registers), although Fuller stated in 1655 that the name was utterly extinct in that town "long before the memory of any alive."† For Cressey and Bardolph pedigree see also Harl. MSS., 1504, fol. 53 *b*.

It is difficult to determine who were the ministers of the Abbey church from the Dissolution to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. We find, however, that in 1542 certain charges were paid to the "parish priest," to "our Lady's priest," to "the charnel priest," to "the two clerks," and to the choristers of Waltham.

* Fuller's "Infant's Advocate." See also my Biographical Notes on John Foxe, 1876.

† Churchwardens' accounts; see Fuller, p. 269.

Robert Rawe is the first incumbent of whom we have any mention.* The date of his installation is given as 1561.

John Daniel, who succeeded Rawe, is entered on the list of incumbents thus:—"Joh. Daniel, cl. licentiat 30 July, 1580." (This must be a mistake made by Newcourt.) His name occurs in the parish register as early as 1563, in connection with the christening, on 3rd July of that year, of his daughter Honor, who was buried on 22nd February, 1570. The other notices of this family occurring in the register are—

John Danyell, son of John Danyell, minister, christened 3rd January, 1566.

Anthony, another son, buried 21st October, 1570.

Aves, daughter of John Danyell, buried 17th March, 1571.

William, a son, christened 14th October, 1571.

George Smyght and Malde Danyell, married 3rd September, 1571.

Ralfe Danyell, of Pynest, buried 24th March, 1578.

John Bullen, married Elizabeth Daniell, 5th December, 1585.

Widow Danyell, buried 18th December, 1588.

John Daniel was buried 18th September, 1581, but as the months of September and October of that year are omitted from the register, we find no entry of that event. During his ministry Philip White, then minister of London, and who on 7th August, 1577, became rector of Fobbing, county Essex, buried his son, Titus, at Waltham, on 7th March, 1575.

James Deys stands next in Newcourt's list of ministers, 1583. The name, I presume, should be *Daye*, which occurs in the parish register about this date:—

Thomas Brown and Agnes Daye married 1st September, 1567.

Joan Daye, daughter of George Daye, buried 24th February, 1585.

Thomas Daye, son of ——Daye, baptized 25th September, 1586.

Son of widow Daye, buried 23rd April, 1588.

George Daye buried 13th March, 1589.

Peter Humble, son of Richard Humble, alderman of London, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Pierson of "Nathing" [Nazing, near Waltham Abbey], county Essex, and a benefactor of St. Saviour's, Southwark,† resided in the parish

* Newcourt's Rep., vol. ii., 630.

† Maitland's Hist. of London, p. 797.

of Waltham at this period, and held a considerable amount of property there. In the Waltham register the following notices of the family occur :—

John, son of Alderman Umble, buried 8th August, 1581.

Margaret Umble, buried 24th April, 1588.

Elizabeth, daughter of George Umble, citizen dwelling in "St. Marye Wooley" parish in London, baptized 16th September, 1599.

John Webb, A.B. His admission to the living appears in the "Repertorium" as having taken place on 23rd February, 1584. The yearly stipend was then only £8, but Sir Edward Denny gave £100 to the support of the minister, besides other gifts, "tying good land," observes Fuller, "for the true performance thereof." John Webb's child, Elizabeth, was baptized 25th July, 1585 ; a son, George, February, 1587-8 ; on 3rd April, 1588, "Jone," wife of Edward Webb, was buried ; and on 30th November, 1589, Margaret, "the daughter of John Webbe, minister of God's word," was baptized. A John Webb probably the same person, was rector of East Donniland, 24th June, 1591 ; he resigned that living in 1598, and died about 1609, as rector of Cold Norton, county Essex.

Thomas Smyth does not appear in Newcourt's list, but the following entry is made in the parish register for 1585 :— "Thomas Smythe, the sonn of Thomas Smythe, minister of God's worde and preacher, bapt. Dec. 12." Possibly this is the Thomas Smyth, A.M., who was rector of High Laver, county Essex, in 1592, and of Trinity, in the Minories, in 1597. About this time the name Smyth or Smith was common at Waltham ; and it is worthy of notice, with a view to identification, that Thomas Smith, son of Thomas Smith, of the parish of Cornhill, was buried on the last of July, 1601.

The families of Colt, Cecil (a branch of the Cecils of Cheshunt), Greville, and Cave, of Leicester, are mentioned in the parish register at this period. Magdalene Colte, described as gentlewoman and widow, was buried in 1591, and a brass tablet on the south wall of the church bears the arms of the Colt family. Thomas Cecil, son of Nicholas Cecil, of London, was buried on 13th December, 1591. Mistress Frances Grevill

of this parish, was married on 25th July, 1599, to John Chamberline, of Astley, county Warwick; Christopher Chaney, gentleman, and Katherine Cave, daughter of the Right Worshipful Mr. Cave, of Bargrave, county Leicester, were married on 28th May, 1601.

Edward Baker, A.M., appears as vicar of Nazing on the deprivation of John Hopkins, 13th February, 1592, but seems to have immediately resigned that living, as he was incumbent of Waltham in 1592. It is probable that the following entry in the register was made subsequently to his removal to Waltham in 1592:—"Anno 1590—John Baker, sonn to Edward Baker, minister, baptized in the parish church of Sepul., in London, the 17 daye of November." James Baker was baptized at the same place, 1st July, 1593. The following notices appear of other persons of the name:—

Dorothy, his wife, died 6th June, 1597. He married Ellen Edwicke, his second wife, 1st January, 1599-1600.

Dorothy, his daughter, baptized 12th November, 1601.

Mary, his daughter, baptized 16th February, 1602-3.

Edward Baker was himself buried 21st April, 1604; and Ellen Baker, presumably his widow, was buried 11th May, 1632.

Alice Baker, widow, was buried in the chancel 15th March, 1610-11; John Baker, son of John Baker, citizen, was buried 23rd May, 1622; and Jeremiah, son of John Baker, of London, was baptized 28th June, 1634. There is no evidence in the parish register, however, to prove any relationship between John Baker, citizen of London, and Edward, the minister of Waltham Abbey.

The register contains the following curious narrative under May, 1601: "The curat of Chesthunt* and somme of the churchwardens of Cheshunt the 19th daye did come in there perambulation to our hye bridge, and for so doing and comming out of there owne libertye they were for there paynes thrust into a dych called Hook's dich. More of this at the end of this booke."

* Richard Neal, M.A., was then vicar of Cheshunt.

The register records the burial of Thomas Hall, gentleman, probably of Clavenhambury (see my "Biog. Notes on John Foxe"), on 13th July, 1597, and of Sir Edward Denny, Knight, the elder, on 14th February, 1599-1600.

Mr. George Tipping, minister, married Mary Glascoke on 14th December, 1608. During his incumbency there are some notices of the family of Swift. Francis Swift married Mistress Greville, of Harold's Park, 18th June, 1604; Edward Swift, son of Mr. Francis Swift, baptized 23rd January, 1608; and Mistress Mildred Swift, daughter of Mr. Francis Swift, of Harold's Park, was baptized on 29th December, 1612.*

Joseph Hall, D.D., successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, was, according to his biographer, presented in 1612 to the living of Waltham Holy Cross by his noble patron, Edward Lord Denny, Earl of Norwich; but in the parish register his name appears three years prior to the date assigned by Newcourt. At that time the church of Waltham was a curacy or donative *cum cura animarum*, for many years having only the small stipend of £8 attached to it, until Edward, Earl of Norwich, settled upon it £100 per annum, with other accommodations. For the long term of twenty-two years Dr. Hall resided at Waltham, and after he was promoted to the bishopric of Exeter his attachment to Waltham was such that he wrote as follows:—"I should heartily wish to change this palace, which the providence of God and the bounty of my gracious sovereign hath put me into, for my quiet cell at Waltham, where I had so sweet leisure to enjoy God, your lordship, and myself." His chief works were composed there, and during that same period he was, to quote his own expression, "thrice . . . commanded and employed abroad by his Majesty in public service." In 1616 he accompanied James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, into France. Previously he had been made prebendary of Wolverhampton, and during his absence with the

* This ancient park is in the parish of Waltham, and adjoins the parish of Nazing. Sir Francis Swift, a later member of the family, and a resident at Harold's Park, was a stanch royalist, his lands in this parish being sequestered in 1643 (Add. MSS., 5505).

Earl of Carlisle the king conferred on him the deanery of Worcester. As chaplain he attended the king to Scotland, and in 1618 he was sent with other divines to the Synod of Dort, receiving on his return a gold medal in honour of his service. In November, 1641, he was translated to the see of Norwich.

Dr. Joseph Hall had a large family by his wife Elizabeth, a daughter of George Winniff, of Bretenham. A son Robert, afterwards a prebendary of Exeter, and rector of Stoke-intinny, Devonshire, was born while his father held the rectory of Halsted, in 1605; but eight of his children were born during his stay at Waltham, and the earliest entry of their baptisms in the parish register proves him to have been at Waltham as early as 1609.

Joseph, baptized 12th March, 1608-9.
Elizabeth, baptized 16th June, 1611.
George, baptized 24th August, 1613.
Samuel, baptized 28th October, 1614.
Mary, baptized 21st December, 1617.
John, baptized 18th November, 1618.
Edward, baptized 23rd July, 1620; died in 1642.
Ann, baptized 19th January, 1622-3.

It would be discordant with the purpose of this paper to trace the career of Dr. Hall's family, but it may be noted that George, the third son, became Bishop of Chester in 1662, and died on 23rd August, 1668; that John was buried on 12th February, 1650; and that Edward is commemorated by a monument in Norwich Cathedral. Dr. Joseph Hall died at an advanced age, and is considered to have been buried in the chancel of Heigham Church, although in his lifetime he had expressed his dislike to the interment of bodies in churches, believing these to be places for the living, and not for the dead. In the church above mentioned, according to his biographer, Rev. J. Jones, there is erected over his vault a black marble stone bearing the arms of the see of Norwich, impaling those of Hall, surmounted by a mitre, and bearing the inscription "INDUVIÆ JOSEPHI HALL OLIM NORVICEN-

SIS ECCLESIÆ SERVI REPOSITÆ 8° DIE MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS, ANNO DOMINI 1656, ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNO 82°, VALE LECTOR ET ÆTERNITATI PROSPICE."

This stone is said to have been removed to the middle of the chancel. Mrs. Hall died on 27th August, 1652, aged sixty-nine, as is recorded on a stone on the south wall of the church of Heigham.

The portions of the bishop's will (dated 24th July, 1654, and amended April 28th, 1656), relating to his Waltham possessions are as follow :—

"To my sonne Joseph I give and bequeath (having surrendered into the hands of Mr. Reve, of Waltham, steward by patent to the Right Noble the Earle of Carlisle, all my coppyholds with the mannor of Swardston to the use of my last Will) all my coppyhold lands and tenements lying and being in Swardston within the parish of Waltham Holy Crosse, to have and to hold to him and his heres for ever. Likewise to my sonne Joseph I give and bequeath the remainder of years which I have from my late deare Lord of Norwich in a tenement lying in the said Waltham, over against the church there, wherein Marmaduke How now dwelleth.*

"Moreover to my sonne Joseph I give and bequeath all that free land with appurtenances which I have in Much Bentley, in the county of Essex, with the edifices thereto belonging. And whereas I am informed that the custome of that mannor is such that the coppyhold lands, except they be formerly surrendered into the hands of the tenants to other uses, do in course descend upon the youngest sonne, my will is that my sonne Samuel (upon whom it will fall) doe speedily surrender that coppyhold, and the tenements thereto belonging to the use and behoof of my said sonne Joseph and his heres for ever. . . .

"My golden medall, which was given me by the States of the Netherlands for my applause at the Synode of Dort, I give and bequeath to the male issue, if any one, of my sonnes (if any such be), according to the order of their birth, or in default thereof to Joseph

* In Add. MSS. 5505 there is an account of certain lands sequestered in Waltham, in which Marmaduke Howe, "a delinquent," holds lands under the Bishop of Norwich. Henry Jepson, John Greene, John Bridges and John Smith also held lands under the bishop.

Weld, the sonne of my daughter, as memorial of that worthy employment." See Hall's Works, by P. Wynter, p. lxxvii.

The bishop conferred (the donation does not appear in the will) on the parish of Waltham some almshouses at High Beech, near Lippet's Hill, which are now* in a dilapidated condition. On the front of the chimney of the buildings is a square stone with the following inscription:—"A Gift of Bishop Hall. William Shotbolt, churchwarden, 1703."†

Mr. Robert Blinco, minister and preacher, is mentioned in the register as having been buried at Waltham, 16th February, 1611-12; but it does not appear whether or not he served as curate under Dr. Hall. At that period the name was common in Waltham.

Robert Greenough, M.A., who is placed on the list of incumbents, was licensed 15th April, 1614, but appears in the register during September, 1613. He married Elizabeth Watson, at St. Giles's, Cambridge, 4th January, 1614-15; on 6th December of that year a son, James, was born, and on the 20th baptized at Conningto, county Cambridge; a second son, Joseph, was baptized at Waltham in October, 1617; and a third son, Robert, was baptized at the same place 28th February, 1618-19.

William Pettie, A.B., is mentioned by Newcourt as licensed 16th October, 1619, but his name does not appear in the parish register.

Mr. William Carter, the next on Newcourt's list, was educated at Cambridge, and on 6th July, 1623, was married to Susan Powell (Par. Reg.). The children of this minister

* In 1878.

† In the Waltham Parish Register, September, 1613, occurs the following memorandum:—"Memorandum that Thomas Tawney [of Upshire], dwelling within Copt Hall Park, was buried at Epping, Sept. 2° without licence. For satisfaction wherof the churchwardens of Epping, acknowledging the wrong were contented to raze their church book, and to register him as a parishioner of Waltham Holy Crosse, utterly disclaiming him for theirs, and all the fees have bene payd over again to the church of Waltham. Witness—Jos. Hall, Robt. Greenough, Willm. Bellamy, parish clerk."

noticed in the register are Robert, baptized 28th March, 1623-4; William, baptized 2nd May, 1625, and buried 23rd January of the following year; "Jerrem" baptized 19th June, 1626, and buried 2nd October of the same year, when his father was "minister SEN John Zacarris in London;" "Philip," a daughter, baptized 18th September, 1628; and William, buried 29h April, 1635.

Carter was popular in London as a preacher, and it would appear from the extracts given from the Waltham register that he became minister of St. John Zachary there. Newcourt does not mention him as occupying that position, but the church was destroyed in the Great Fire of London, and very little is known of its rectors. He was a good scholar and one of the Assembly of Divines. He afterwards joined the Independents, and died in 1658 in his fifty-third year.*

Richard Walmsley, curate of Waltham Abbey, is thus referred to in Mr. J. E. Bailey's life of Dr. Thos. Fuller, p. 469: "On the books of Christ's College, Cambridge, is the notice of the admission as sizar 1624, of one James Fuller, educated at Waltham, under Mr. Warmsley of Waltham, being the son of one William Fuller of that place." His name occurs in the parish register of Waltham as early as 30th September, 1627, when he is recorded as having married Margaret Etheridge. The other entries regarding him and his family show the baptism of a daughter, Margaret, 22nd March, 1628-9, and her burial, 23rd December, 1648; the baptism of a daughter, Ann, 19th June, 1631; the baptism of a daughter, Bridget, 14th April, 1633; the baptism of a daughter Susan, 28th June, 1635, and her burial, 8th June, 1636; the burial of Margaret, wife of Mr. Richard Walmsley, 17th July, 1650, and his own burial on 3rd June, 1654.†

* Neal's Hist. Puritans, vol. ii., p. 445.

† Francis Hill, son of Mr. Percival Hill, rector of St. Katherine Coleman's, London, was buried at Waltham, 30th May, 1629 (Par. Reg.) Of *the Basano family*, Mr. Jeremino Basano, gentleman, of Waltham, was buried there in August, 1635, his wife, whose Christian name is not given, having previously been buried there in June, 1631. The family was noted for its musical ability, and members of it acted as musicians to

It is uncertain how long the curacy of Waltham was held by Richard Walmsley, but he was instituted rector of St. John Baptist, London, by Bishop Laud, in May, 1633. Newcourt (Rep., vol. i. p. 372) states that he was ejected for his loyalty in the time of the rebellion. He is twice mentioned in the Churchwardens' Accounts of Waltham—once as having contributed with about forty other inhabitants of Waltham in 1630 to the relief of the poor of that town "in the time of scarcitie and dearth of corne." The entire sum amounted to £30 6s. 4d., the more remarkable donations being £4 from the Earl of Norwich, £10 from the Earl of Middlesex, and £1 1s. 4d. each from Mr. Gibbon, minister, Francis Green, gentleman, and Mr. Walmsley, curate.

John Gibbon, or *Guibbon*, a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, appears in the parish register in 1629, although Newcourt has dated his induction as eight years later. William Price, then of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and afterwards curate of Waltham, was also a member of the Assembly. Both were regular in their attendance at the meetings of the divines, and Gibbon acted as chairman of one of three equal committees into which the Assembly was divided. On 29th March, 1643, on occasion of the thanksgiving for the union betwixt England and Scotland, he preached in conjunction with Dr. Lightfoot. His sermon, however, was not printed.*

The parish register of Waltham records the following christenings and burials of his children: baptism of John, his son by his wife Ann, 18th October, 1629; and the death of the same "John Guibon, bachelour of divinitie, and late minister of St. Anne Blackfriers, London," in 1663;† the burial of

Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II. They held large estates in Waltham, The writer possesses several autographs of early members of the family.

* Coll. Pamph., E., 127, B.M.

† Calamy erroneously states that he was a member of the Westminster Assembly, evidently confounding him with his father of the same name. Calamy further states that he was ejected from St. Anne's near Aldersgate, and soon after died of consumption. Two sermons by the Rev. John

Mary, 2nd April, 1630; the baptism of Edward, 10th January, 1632-3; the baptism of Millicent, 18th December, 1634, and her burial 9th October, 1639; the baptism of Ann, 13th November, 1636, and her burial two days later; alsothe baptism of Francis, 31st May, 1638, and his burial 5th October, 1639.

There are notices in the register of other persons of the name of "Guibon," shortly after this time. A John Guibon, husbandman, was buried in 1673, and a "widow" Guibon probably his relict, is mentioned in the following year.

The entries regarding him in the Churchwardens' Accounts are chiefly of gifts to poor ministers: one is a payment of 4s. 6d. to "a poor scoller by Mr. Gibon's and Mr. Wamslie's apoyntment," in 1630, and another, in 1656, of £1 towards the purchase of the Bachelors' and Maids' bell.

During his incumbency the church of Waltham was enriched by a gift from the Earl of Norwich,* the extent and character which may best be gathered from the terms of his will: "I Edward, Earl of Norwich . . . bequeath to John Guibon of Waltham Holy Cross, in the county of Essex, clerke, for the term of his life, toward the officiating the cure of Waltham Holy Cross aforesaid, and for celebrating divine service and administering of the sacraments, and preaching the word of God there, all that messuage or tenement with the orchards . . . now in the tenure or occupation of the said John Guibbon, . . . and also ten loads of firewood yearly and every year to be taken of such pollard trees as for the time being shall be standing and growing upon the waste ground of the manor of Waltham Holy Cross within the forest of Waltham; . . . and also one annuity of one hundred pounds *per annum*, to be issuing and going out of the manor or farm of Claverhambury,† in the said parish of

Gibbon, B.D., preached at St. Giles', Cripplegate, were published (1659 and 1677).

* This noble benefactor of Waltham, created Baron of Waltham by James I. and Earl of Norwich by Charles I., died on Oct. 24, 1637, and was buried on Saturday, Oct. 28, at the east end of the Church of Waltham, in a burying-place shortly before erected by himself.

† This estate is situated near Copt Hall. The Hall family held this

Waltham Holy Cross. . . . And if the same or any part thereof shall happen to be behind or unpaid, that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said John Guibbon to enter into the said manor . . . and to distrain for the same. . . . Provided always that if the said John Guibbon shall refuse to officiate the said cure, or shall be preferred to any other ecclesiastical dignity of greater value, then he no longer to possess . . the said tenement. . . . Provided also that whereas I have heretofore granted unto him an annuity or yearly rent-charge of one hundred pounds *per annum*, my will and meaning is, not that he shall have two annuities of one hundred pounds *per annum*, but only one hundred pounds *per annum*, and have made this my last will in that behalf only in confirmation of the said former grant." The will then refers to a tripartite agreement (30th May, 1633), in which the parties were (*a*) the testator, (*b*) James, Earl of Carlisle, and the Lady Margaret, his wife, (*c*) Francis, Earl of Bedford, and Edward, Viscount Wimbleton, whereby it was made lawful to the testator to grant or bequeath £100 as an annuity for ever out of the farm of Claverhambury, co. Essex.

Nathaniel Hatley was curate of Waltham for nearly forty-six years, during a most trying period, *circa* 1633-1679. He officiated during the ministry of John Gibbon, Dr. Thos. Fuller, Wm. Price, and Lionel Goodrick. Owing to his long settlement his name frequently appears in the Waltham Register. He married (1) Ann Wilkinson, 23rd June, 1636, who was buried 28th March, 1665 ; (2) Ann Bainbrigg, 14th February, 1666-7, who died in the following month. The children mentioned in the register are—William, born 20th June, 1637, baptized 2nd July ; Nathaniel, born 31st January, baptized 10th February, 1638-9, and buried 9th December, 1641 ; Anne, born 29th August, and baptized 6th September, 1640 ; Mary, born 15th July, and baptized 24th

estate for some years. Robert Hall, the friend of Dr. Fox, was justice of the peace in Waltham *temp.* Elizabeth, and was buried 8th September 1615. (See my Biog. Notes on Foxe Family, 1876.)

July, 1642; Jane, born 11th January, baptized 26th January, 1644-5, and buried 20th May, 1648; Margaret, born 23rd April, and baptized 9th May, 1647. [Leonard Hatley, of Upshire, victualler, buried 24th April, 1658]. The record as to his own death bears that "Mr. Nathaniel Hatley, curat here about six-and-forty yeers," was buried the 1st October, 1679.

Hatley was appointed parish registrar of Waltham 6th October, 1653. The churchwardens' accounts contain a number of interesting notices, more especially in 1672, where we find recorded that a collection in the town of Waltham for "the redemption of Christian captives" amounted to £4 3s., in Upshire and Hollyfield to 17s., in Sewardston to 7s. 7d., the total sum of £5 7s. 7d. being paid by Nath. Hatley to "Wm. White and Hopkins," by whom it was paid over to Dr. Thomas Exton.

On 10th September, 1640, Roger, "son to Wacfield, a minister of London," was buried at Waltham.

William Price, B.D., although not mentioned by Newcourt, was beyond a doubt pastor of Waltham Abbey, and appears to have been the immediate predecessor of Dr. Thomas Fuller. An official pamphlet, published in 1648 by the committee of the Lords and Commons, containing the names of ministers and others suitable for the "classis," which were approved by the standing committee of the county of Essex, gives "M. Price" as minister of Waltham. Three children of Mr. William Price, minister, are recorded as being buried in Waltham: (1) William, 29th March, 1644-5; (2) Milell, 19th April, 1645; (3) Mathew, 23rd April, 1645.* Mr. Price's name occurs in the churchwardens' accounts from 1645—1649.

Price was born in the city of London, according to a statement made in the dedication of his sermon preached at St. Mary's Spital the 13th April, 1642. He was one of the

* Hugh, son of John Price, "chirgergeon of St. Pulchres, London," is recorded as being buried 31st May, 1655. Margaret Price, probably a daughter of Mr. Wm. Price, appears as contributing 1s. in the catalogue of bachelors and maids who made donations for the first of the six bells of Waltham Holy Cross in 1656.

members of the Westminster Assembly, and with Dr. Temple, Dr. Smith, and others, opposed the institution of elders as a divine right, the ability of this party calling forth the remark of Robert Baillie, "I professe my marvelling at the great learning, quickness, and eloquence of these men." * Price is spoken of as among "sundrie of the ablest" of them.

In 1642† he was preacher at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, for in that year he published "A Sermon preached at St. Maries Spittle, on Wednesday in Easter Weeke, Aprill 13th, 1642, before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, &c.," in which he is described as William Price, B.D., and preacher at Covent Garden. The discourse was printed by Nicholas Bourne, and dedicated to the Right Hon. Sir Richard Gurney, the aldermen, and sheriffs . . . of "this city, *where he drew his first breath.*" The text is Isa. i. 22, and the sermon occupies 46 pp. 4to.

In 1646 there was published, by order of the "Lords in Parliament assembled," "die Veneris, 26th Novembris, 1646, "Man's Delinquencie: . . . a Sermon to the Right Honourable the House of Lords assembled in Parliament in the Abbey Church at Westminster, Novemb. 25, 1646, being the solemn day of their monethly fast. By William Price, B.D., pastor of Waltam Abby, and one of the Assembly of Divines. London: Printed by R. R. for Richard Whitaker . . . 1646."

In 1654 there appeared a volume entitled "Triumphus Sapientiæ seu conciones aliquæ in selecta Thelogiæ capita, . . per Guilielmum Price, S.T.B., pastorem Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Anglicanæ." This volume was published at Amsterdam, and occupies 241 pp. 8vo.

In 1660 there was published "God's Working and Brittain's Wonder," a sermon in commemoration of the restoration of

* Letters of Bailie (ed. by David Laing), vol. ii., 110.

† Watt (Bibl. Brit.) mentions four published works of Price: (1) A Treatise of the Fear of God. 1638. (2) Man's Delinquencie. 1642. (3) A Sermon. 1646. (4) A Sermon. 1660.

Charles II. by "Wil. Price, B.D., late preacher of Covent Garden, now to the Reformed English Church in Amsterdam. London: Printed by W. Godbid for Peter Dring."

Thomas Fuller, D.D., went to London in 1646, was chosen Lecturer at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, between the end of March and May, 1647, and in 1648-9 was presented to the curacy of Waltham by James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, Baron of Waltham, &c. After his settlement at Waltham he made frequent visits to London, to employ engravers for his "Pisgah-Sight of Palestine," which was dated from Waltham, 7th July, 1650. Robert Vaughan, one of the engravers, was a Waltham man.

The Epistle Dedicatory of "Abel Redivivus" was written at Waltham, and the work itself was published in 1651.

Several sermons, published under the title of the "Infant's Advocate" (1653), were preached in the church of Waltham and dedicated to James, Earl of Carlisle, "my most bountiful patron," and to Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, "my noble parishioner."

Some of Fuller's remarks on his own publications are most interesting. "For the first five years during our actual civil wars," he writes in the "Appeal," "I had little list or leisure to write, fearing to be made an history, and shifting daily for my safety. All that time I could not live to study, who did only study to live. So soon as God's goodness gave me a fixed habitation [Waltham is doubtless referred to] I composed my 'Land of Canaan, or Pisgah Sight.'"

While Fuller was at Waltham his "Church History" was in the press, and he frequently visited London for the purpose of superintending its publication. In his "Appeal" he says, "I will truly acquaint the reader with the state of this matter. The posting press which, with the time and tide, will stay for no man, mistaking my copy complete, and not attending my coming to London that morning from Waltham, clapt it up imperfect."

Fuller's "History of Waltham Abbey" (1655) was dedi-

cated to James, Earl of Carlisle; his "History of Cambridge" to Banister Maynard, Esq.*

The following is a list of the Fullers of Waltham mentioned in the parish register:—

Richard Chare, al Segar, and Jone Fuller, married 17th September, 1587.

Philip Fuller and Jone Hammon, married 21st May, 1592.

Elizabeth Fuller, daughter of Peter Fuller, baptized 4th March, 1592-3.

Susanna Fuller, daughter of Philip Fuller, baptized 29th April, 1599.

Agnes Fuller, daughter of Philip Fuller, baptized 20th May, 1604.

Judith Fulla, daughter of Mr. Ed. Fulla, buried 16th August, 1608.

Mr. Edward Fulla, buried 17th August, 1608.

Elizabeth Fulla, daughter of William Fulla, baptized 11th December, 1608.

Thomas Fuller and Florence Harding, married 21st July, 1611.

Florence, wife of Thomas Fuller, buried 10th September, 1624.

James Fuller, son of Mr. Thomas Fuller [Dr. Thos. Fuller, curate of Waltham Abbey], baptized 27th December, 1652.

Anne, daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Marie Fuller, born 7th November, 1653.

James Fuller, sonn of Mr. Thomas Fuller, minister, and Mrs. Marie, buried in the chancel, y^e^ 20 July, 1654.

Anne, daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Marie Fuller, buried 19th April, 1655.

Thomas, son of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Marie Fuller, born 7th May 1655.

George Eliot, of Little Parnden, and Margaret Fuller, of Epping, married by Hen. Wollaston, 13th March, 1655-6.

Joseph Fuller, husbandman, and Thomasin Danford, both of Enfield, married 22nd December, 1660.

Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Fuller, baptized 11th December, 1664.

* Notes regarding some funeral sermons delivered by Fuller on members of the Etheridge family, who were buried at Waltham Holy Cross, will be found in "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica."

W. Fuller and Sarah Knowton, married 11th January, 1668-9.

W. Solbey and Anne Fuller, married 25th September, 1669.

Mary, daughter of Richard and Anne Fuller, baptized 22nd October, 1671.

John Fuller and Anne Lowing, married 2nd February, 1684-5.

Robert and Richard, sons of John and Anne Fuller, baptized 1st November, 1685.

Anne, daughter of John and Anne Fuller, baptized 20th Sepember and buried 2nd December, 1688.

Anne, daughter of Anne Boreham and John Fuller, baptized 3rd November, 1697.

Samuel Thurston and Mary Fuller, married 3rd October, 1703.

There are many entries of a later date regarding the Fuller family, and the name occurs in the parish register of Waltham as late as the early part of the present century.

From 1648 downwards the churchwardens' accounts make frequent mention of Dr. Thomas Fuller. We find small donations to a "poor minister sent to me by Mr. Fuller's direction," to "Mr. Higgons, a poor distressed minister, at Mr. Fuller's request" (1649-50), to "Mr. Thomas Addams, minister" (1650-1), to "a poor distressed man" (1652-3). Several years later six other "poor distressed ministers" received sums from Mr. Fuller. In 1659-60 we find—"Given to John Fuller, a poore man that had beene in prison and have a lycence to begg for his fees, 6d." In 1656 he gave 10s. towards the purchase of a bell, "the first bell of the six," the chief contributors in the list of 200 persons being "batchlers and maides." *

On the eve of Dr. Fuller's leaving for Cranford, Mary, daughter of Thomas and Margery Davenant, of London, was buried at Waltham, 25th February, 1657-8. It is not improbable that Thomas Davenant was a relative of Fuller, as the latter's father, Thomas Fuller, B.D., rector of Aldwincle, was

* In Nazing parish register we find recorded the baptism of Thomas Fuller, son of Henry Fuller and Anne his wife, December, 1682. *Mr. David Leech* or *Leigh*, vicar of Nazing from 1648, was buried at Waltham, 29th August, 1658; his wife predeceased him by a few months, and was also buried at Waltham.

married to Judith, eldest daughter of John and Margaret Davenant, of London.

Dr. Thomas Fuller died on 15th August, 1661, in his fifty-fourth year, and was interred with great solemnity in the chancel of Cranford Church. Although a steady friend of the Established Church, he was at the same time liberal towards Protestant Nonconformists, even to undergoing a charge of Puritanism. In person he was tall and well-proportioned, "of an exact straightness of the whole body;" of a sanguine temperament, with light curly hair, a pleasant and ruddy countenance tempered with considerable gravity. His gait was "majestical" without affectation, but he was somewhat slovenly as regards dress. Riding was his favourite exercise. He lived sparingly, taking only two meals a day. The portrait of Fuller given in Mr. Bailey's "Life" (Pickering, 1874) is copied from that at Cranford House, Middlesex. A short account may here be given of the leading gentlemen and their families at Waltham during the ministry of Dr. Fuller, some of whom have been genially referred to in his works.

James Hay, second Earl of Carlisle, his principal patron resided at Abbey House, near the church. He married Margaret, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford, died 30th October, 1660, and was buried in the chancel of Waltham Church.

Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, possessed the estate of Copt Hall, and Fuller was a frequent visitor at the mansion, which lay about two and a-half miles from the town of Waltham. Fuller has left on record an interesting little incident respecting one of his visits. "Some three years since," writes he "walking on the Lord's day into the park at Copt's Hall, the third son (a child in coats) of the Earl of Dorset desired to go with me; whereof I was unwilling, fearing he should straggle from me whilst I meditated on my sermon; and when I told him that if he went with me he would lose himself, he returned, 'Then you must lose yourself first, for I will go with you."

The earl here mentioned was Richard Sackville, and the "Child in coats" was his son Lionel, who was born in 1645, and died without issue, 26th October, 1647, leaving Copt Hall to his nephew, Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the poet. While this accomplished poet had his residence in Copt Hall his eldest daughter, Lady Mary Sackville, by his wife Mary, daughter of James, Earl of Northampton, was born 24th April, and baptized 30th April, 1688, by Joseph Mirrill, the earl's chaplin.*

In the dedication of his "Infant's dvocate,"† Fuller mentions Edward Palmer, Henry Wollaston, Matthew Gilley, John Vavasor, and Francis Bointon, as among his "loving parishoners in Waltham Holy Cross."

Edward Palmer may have had his residence at Seawardstone, a hamlet of Waltham.‡ He studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted scholar in 1610, and obtained a fellowship in 1617. He was an excellent Greek scholar, and on the death of Andrew Downes became a candidate for the professorship of that language in 1625. The family of Palmer had resided for centuries in the adjoining parish of Nazing, and there is a fine brass of Thomas Palmer in Epping old church. The name is found in the Waltham register as far back as 1568. In that register the following notices occur of the children of Edward Palmer by his wife Millicent, widow of Edmond Winche, of Woodford, youngest daughter of Nicholas Vavasor, of Waltham Abbey: Matthew, baptized 29th December, 1631; Thomas, baptized 7th February, 1632-3; Millicent, baptized 14th August, 1634; Mary, baptized 19th December, 1636. Millicent, his wife, was buried 30th June, 1656.

Justice Wollaston, another of Fuller's friends, married

* M.A. of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1663.

† In the dedication he states that Cranmer composed his work on Henry VIII.'s marriage with Queen Katherine, and that Foxe, the martyrologist, and Bishop Hall also penned their works at Waltham.

‡ Harleian MS., 6065, states that he was "of Hoddesdon, co. Herts," which lies about five or six miles from Waltham Abbey.

Ursula, daughter of Dr. Samuel Foxe, son of John Foxe the martyrologist — (See my "Biog. Notes on John Foxe").

To *Dr. Baldwin Hamey*, an eminent physician, who died 14th May, 1676, aged seventy-six, Fuller dedicated an early part of his "Church History."

Matthew Gilley, Esq., of Waltham, an intimate friend of Fuller, whom Mr. Bailey supposes to have been related to Elizabeth, sole surviving daughter of Bishop Westfield, was probably the son of William and Sarah Gilley, of Harold's Park, Waltham Abbey, the former of whom was buried 3rd October, 1650, and the latter of whom died in October, 1660. Matthew Gilley held property in Oakley, county Essex, and was buried in the chancel of Waltham Church, 25th August, 1662. William Gilley, described as a gentleman of London, was buried at Waltham, 7th September, 1661, and Samuel Gilley, Esq., was buried in the chancel 20th March, 1678.

John Vavasor belonged to the noted family of Vavasors of Yorkshire, a branch of which settled at Waltham in 1564. He was son and heir of Nicholas (1634), and brother of Millicent Vavasor, wife of Edward Palmer (*ut supra*). This family occupy a large space in the parish register. One genealogical fact may be mentioned, that "Mistress Philipp Vavasor" was married on 20th January, 1616-17, to Martin Trott, of Nazing, gentleman, one of the commissioners appointed in 1653 to inquire into the religious condition of Essex. By Philippe Vavasor, his first wife, who was buried at Waltham, 1st July, 1634, he had issue—(1) Judith, baptized 9th August, 1616; (2) Douglas, baptized 2nd February, 1623; (3) Bridget, baptized 9th July, 1629; (4) Andrew, baptized 5th September, 1630. By Mary, his second wife, who was buried at Waltham Abbey, 12th December, 1685, he had issue Mary, Francis, and Mildred (Nazing Reg.).*

* For pedigree of the family of Trott, see Harl. MSS., 1551, fol. 54 *b*. This family was connected by marriage with Sir W. Clesher, Mayor of London, and Bishop Cotton, of Exeter.

Thomas Dacres was the son of Sir Thomas Dacres, at whose house Fuller saw a picture of Cranmer, painted by Hans Holbein. The following inscription occurs on a tomb in the north aisle of the church at Cheshunt, county Herts :—

"This tomb was in the year 1543 erected to the memory of Robert Dacres, of Chesthunt, in this county, Esq., and Privy Councellor to Kinge Henry the Eight, and for his wife Elizabeth, whose Bodyes lye both heere interred, and since hath beene the buryinge place of his sonne George Dacres, Esq., who died 1580, and of his wife Elizabeth, as also of Sir Thomas Dacres, Knt., sonne of the said George, who dyed 1615, and of Katherine his first wife, by whome he had only one daughter, and of his second wife, who bore him thirteen children, whose sonne and heire Sir Thomas Dacres, Knt., nowe living, hath at his chardge. This yeare 1641 Repayred this monument intendinge it in dve tyme a Restinge place for himselfe, his lady Martha, and their posterity."

The family of *William Robinson*, another of Fuller's Cheshunt friends (d. 21st April, 1686, æt. 70), is commemorated on a stone formerly on the wall of the middle aisle of Cheshunt Church. At this time there was a numerous family of the name in Waltham who held the property now known as Cold Hall, situated between Waltham and Cheshunt.

Among Fuller's other friends were *Sir Henry Wroth*, who commanded a troop in 1661 (Waltham Reg.) ; *Sir Thomas Trevor* (Bart. 1641, K.B. 1660), who resided at Enfield, where Fuller's widow died ; and *Col. Francis Boynton* (buried 4th August, 1658).*

A branch of the Wharton family resided at Waltham, and did good service in the cause of the Crown. George Wharton Esq., treasurer and paymaster of the Ordinance *temp.* Charles II. was created a baronet December 19th, 1677. Sir George was the son of George Wharton, a substantial yeoman in Strickland, near Kendall, who left at his death an estate of

* For an account of the services of Francis and Sir Matthew Boynton in behalf of the Parliament, see Lloyd's "Memoirs," p. 705, and Add. MSS., 5, 497, fol. 100.

forty or fifty pounds, and his son an infant under the guardianship of his two brothers William, and Cuthbert, who brought him up a scholar and sent him to Oxford *temp.* Charles I., where he continued until he commenced Master of Arts. But being loyally disposed, and concluding that a time of civil war was not the most propitious to literary pursuits, he adopted the profession of arms. Leaving Oxford, he sold his lands, with the produce raised a troop of horse, and presented himself at its head to King Charles I. His Majesty received him graciously, and placed him and his troop in the regiment of Sir Jacob Astley, where he continued until the regiment was routed and most of it cut to pieces at Stow, in Gloucestershire, the colonel being made prisoner and Wharton escaping severely wounded. He for some time afterwards remained concealed in the houses of the royalists, and set himself to compile an almanack called "Wharton's Loyal Almanack." He became so obnoxious that a reward of £500 was offered for taking him. He passed, however, for some time undiscovered, disguised as a Spaniard, under the name of Captain Naworth (the letters of Wharton transposed), but was at length captured and committed to Windsor Castle, where he remained some time a prisoner. After the Restoration he received the official employment mentioned above, and was created a baronet. He married Miss Anne Butler, and had issue—

1. George, a captain in the army, died before his father.

2. Polycarpus, who took his father's title, married Philadelphia, daughter of Justinian and niece of Sir Edward Sherburne, Knt., but died without surviving issue, when the baronetcy became extinct. His daughter "Theophila" was buried at Waltham Abbey, May 13th, 1706. Mrs. Anne Wharton was also buried at Waltham Abbey, September 4th 1708.

3. Richard, an engineer, buried at Waltham Abbey, June 10th, 1709.

4. William, a captain in the army.

Dorothy, married to Mr. Henry Netthorp, a banker.

Jane, married Mr. Sawell Wharton, druggist.

The father died August 12, 1681, aged sixty-seven.

It is impossible in this paper to do more than simply refer to the persecutions undergone by Dissenters, especially by the Baptists and Quakers in Waltham and the surrounding district, from 1663 to 1690. Waltham is intimately associated with the name of George Fox, who held meetings there in 1680, 1685, 1688, and 1690.*

Thomas Reeve, D.D., the immediate successor of Fuller, is mentioned in the register of Waltham as early as 1662, but his printed sermons show that he was settled there in 1660. Thomas Reeve appears as S.T.P. of Caius College, Cambridge, in 1660, and as M.A., in 1661. He died at Waltham Abbey, 21st February, 1671-2 (R. Smith's Obit., Camden Soc.—p. 94), and was buried 29th February (Walth. Reg.).† He was the author of many published sermons and theological treatises.‡

At this time Dr. Edward Pelling held lands at Cobbingend, in the parish of Waltham Abbey (Doc. in possession of writer of this paper, dated 6th October, 1691). Dr. Pelling, who was M.A. of Cambridge, 1665, became vicar of Great St. Helen's, London, rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, 1678, Canon of Westminster, 1683, and subsequently rector of Petworth, county Sussex, and chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. He was the author of several theological works. Mary, his wife, was buried at Petworth in 1708, aged seventy-eight (Pet-

* See Neal's "Hist. Purit."; Crosby's "Hist. Bapt.," vol. ii., 30; State Papers, *temp*. Charles II.; Bess's "Sufferings of the Quakers," vol. i., p. 203. The Quakers had a meeting-house in Waltham, which was pulled down about the year 1848. It stood on the left-hand side of the lane called "Quaker Lane," and was for some years used as the "British school." There was also a burial-ground attached to this house, and many of the bones of departed "Friends" were unearthed in preparing the foundations of the new (British) schoolroom, since enlarged by the School Board, under whose direction it has lately passed.

† In the Nazing Register, for 1671-2, we find the baptism on 17th January, of Anne, daughter of Thomas Reeve and Joan his wife.

‡ For an account of these see Watt's "Bibl. Brit."; Beloe's "Anecdotes," vol. iii., p. 81; Retrospective Review, vol. iii., p. 247.

worth Par. Reg.). In the Waltham register we find recorded the burial of Mr. Edward Pelling, 19th September, 1667; of Anne, daughter of Mr. Edw. and Sarah Pelling, 4th June, 1669; of Mrs. Sarah Pelling, relict of Mr. Edw. Pelling, 27th August, 1677; of Mr. John Pelling, 12th May, 1685; and the marriage of W. Pellen and Mary Lewet, 19th October, 1698.

Mr. John Oliver, chaplain at the Abbey, was buried 2nd March, 1670-1. The Abbey House of Waltham was occupied by the Earl of Carlisle, and afterwards by the Wake family, lords of the manor of Waltham. It is possible, however, that Oliver served as chaplain to William, Earl of Kinnoul, who was buried at Waltham in March, 1676-7.

Lionel Goodrick succeeded Dr. Reeve in the living of Waltham, 17th June, 1672, and held it till his death, 19th June, 1693 (Par. Reg.). On 14th August, 1678, Dr. Richard Naylor married Mrs. Anne Goodrick. He was buried (died 23rd June, 1683, aged sixty-three) in the south aisle of the church, with members of the Pordage family, one of whom was baptized in July, 1684, with the name of Lionel Goodrick Pordage.*

In 1684 a sum of money was collected in Waltham towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's, and paid over to Dr. Thomas Turner, at that time Archdeacon of Essex.

To this period belongs James Harrington, who was born at Waltham Abbey about 1664, and buried at Oxford on St. Andrew's Day, 1693. He was an eminent and most learned barrister, the author of various works, and wrote the preface to the first volume of the "Athenæ Oxon.," as well as the introduction to the second. Some of his original letters are stated to be among the Ballard MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. xxii.†

* For pedigree of Pordage family, see Harl. MS. 1530, fol. 2; Add. MSS. 24, 491, fol. 446.

† For an account of Harrington, see Wood's "Ath. Oxon." His will is dated November 16th, 1688, and was administered to Ann Harrington, his relict, on February 1st, 1693-4, Frances Farer, *alias* Harrington (his

The following is a list of entries of the Harringtons from the Parish Register of Waltham Abbey :—

1581-2. John Harrington and Annes Munke married Feb. 8th.

1583. Thomas Harrington, son to John Harrington, baptized September 25.

1588. William Harrington, son of John Harrington, baptized June 23.

1592-3. John Harrington, buried January 3rd.

1654-5. A contract of marriage between Richard Harrington, barber, and Elizabeth Millis, both of Low Layton, published in the market-place three market days in three several weeks, that is to say, March 27th, April 3rd and 10th, without opposition. [Married by Henry Wollaston, Justice of the Peace.]

1656. Stephen, son of Stephen and Sarah Errington of St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, buried September 24.

1668-9. Edward, son of James Harrington, baptized February 5.

1668-9. Edward, son of James Harrington, buried March 5.

1671. Mr. James Harrington, buried August 18.

1685. Francis Harrington, widow, buried in y^e^ chancel, Oct. 21.

1687-8. Ellen, daughter of Thomas Harrington, baptized Feb. 19th.

1746. Jane Herrington, widow, buried September 18, from Robinson's, Cold Hall.

1792. Susannah, daughter of Jonas Harrington, baptized November 25th.

Joseph Darby, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, B.A. 1680, M.A. 1684, followed Goodrick as minister of Waltham, and first appears in the register as curate on the christening of Lady Mary Sackville, eldest daughter of Charles, Earl of Dorset, of Copt Hall, April, 1688. The register records the baptism of several of his children—Benjamin, 1689 ; Joseph, 1690 (died an infant) ; Joseph, 1692 (buried 31st March, 1697-8). Hester, his wife, died on 30th March, 1703-4 ; and Darby himself was buried at Waltham, 10th September, 1715.* It is not known whether he was succeeded by his son Benjamin, of

sister), and George Smallridge, of Christ Church, Oxford, the executors appointed in the will, having meanwhile died.

* In December of that year the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Darby, son of Joseph Darby, attests the accuracy of the register from 1713 to 1715.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, B.A. 1711, who was buried at Waltham 1st May, 1718. In the churchyard to the south-east of Waltham Church there stands a large square stone tomb of the family of Darby, of Chigwell.

William Mason, B.A., graduated at Wadham College, Oxford, 2nd March, 1679, but his signature as curate of Waltham appears as early as 1677. The baptisms of the following children by his wife, Martha, are recorded in the register :— Mary (1676-7), Elizabeth (1679), William (1682), and John (1685). Mary, daughter of Brian, widowed sister of William Mason, was buried at Waltham in January, 1680-1.

Francis Philipps was curate of Waltham, and James Gipps, parish clerk, in 1715, at the time of the attestation of the register by Benjamin Darby.

After a contest between Mr. Cooper (or John Capon) and Mr. Lapthorne, during which no register was kept at Waltham, the church was taken possession of by the "*Rev. Mr. Lapthorne*"* in February, 1716-17.

Thomas Broadway, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1716, M.A., 1730, succeeded Lapthorne as curate on 23rd August, 1721 (Par. Reg.)

Robert Swynfen, B.A., appears as curate of Waltham in 1729, and was buried there 23rd March, 1732-3.

Robert Fowler, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge (1733), held the curacy of Waltham Abbey from 24th June, 1734, to 28th September, 1754 (Par. Reg.). After the latter date he appears in the register as rector of Great Parndon, Essex, about eight miles from Waltham.

Mr. John Farmer, attorney, author of an illustrated "History of Waltham Abbey" (8vo., 1735), was buried at Waltham, 3rd October, 1750. The tomb of his parents, the inscription on

* Possibly Anthony Lapthorne, of Pembroke College, Oxon, B.A. 1699, M.A. 1703. During his curacy were buried Rev. Ferdinand Naptin (1717) ; Joan, daughter of Rev. Mr. Bess, of London (28th March, (719-20). Bess's wife, Joanna, was buried at Waltham, 6th October, 1729.

which Farmer quotes on p. 144 of his work, is still in a good state of preservation.*

John Lindsey, 1754-1779, styles himself "minister" on and after 1775. On 14th July, 1762, John Auther, the first Baptist minister of Waltham Abbey was buried in the churchyard.

About this period (1772) John Adams, a writer of some note and a resident of Waltham Abbey, translated out of the Spanish a work originally compiled by Don George Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa, captains of the Spanish navy. The work is entitled "A Voyage to South America; describing at large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, &c., on that extensive Continent. Translated from the original Spanish, with Notes, &c., by John Adams, Esqr., of Waltham Abbey, who resided several years in those parts." John Stockdale published a fourth edition of this work in 1806, dedicated to Commodore Sir Home Popham, Knt. The work, which is illustrated, displays considerable literary ability, and is interesting even at the present day.

Samuel Vickers became curate 1st August, 1779, and was followed by *John Boulflower*, 3rd October of the same year, who, although continuing to officiate as late as 1790, resigned the incumbency on 24th June, 1781, in favour of *Mr. Isaac Colnett.* Colnett died on 2nd March, 1801.†

* During this period the register contains some genealogical and other information on the family of Floyer, one of whose members was Sir Peter Floyer, Alderman of London. Colonel Peter Floyer, his son, died 17th January, 1724; and Captain Charles Floyer, another son, died 23rd March, 1732.

† Since the death of Mr. Colnett, the following ministers have officiated in the Abbey Church. John Mullins, M.A., 1801-1806; Thomas Pickthall, 1806-1824; W. S. Austin, 1826; John Lewis Capper, M.A., 1827-1846; Rev. James Francis, M.A. succeeded Capper, and is the present Vicar (1880).

APPENDIX.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AT ANNUAL DINNER.

THE Society held its annual dinner at the St. James's, Regent Street, on the evening of Thursday, the 24th April, when the chair was occupied by James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S. Besides members of the Society, Sir Charles Farquhar Shand, Chief Justice of the Mauritius, Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., Professor Beesly, and other distinguished visitors were present. After dinner, the Chairman proposed "The Queen," and other loyal toasts.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing "The Army, Navy, and Auxiliary Forces," referred to the recent engagement of one of the three forces, in which it had been victorious, and expressed his fullest confidence in the different departments of our forces. The reviews at Aldershot were of high value for the training of our officers, as they enabled them to see large masses of troops in action, and gave them practice in handling forces.

Sir CHARLES FARQUHAR SHAND replied, stating that he could claim no connection with military life beyond the fact that in his early days he was one of the first Volunteers, a force which had since so developed as to embrace in Great Britain from two to three hundred thousand men. He had long lived amidst a French population, and he had found that it astonished them that such a large force had been raised without conscription. Referring to the relations of the colonies to the mother country, he remarked that if England did not forget her colonies, they would never forget her.

The CHAIRMAN next proposed "The Royal Historical Society," which he believed to be at once a useful and successful institution. He coupled the toast with the name of the Secretary, Dr. Rogers, the founder.

Dr. ROGERS said—Natives of Aberdeen are stalwart, robust, and long-lived, and among hatmakers it is understood they require the biggest hats. How so? Such is the severity of the storms which beat upon the granite city, that physicians inform us those children only who are robust and healthy withstand the roughness, and so reach manhood. The remark made in reference to the children of Aberdeen may be applied to learned societies. Of the associations which start up yearly few survive, while of those that do it may be held that the members have either big heads, or the leading fellows are full of energy.

When the Historical Society began, in an upper room in the Strand, not quite eleven years ago, some five persons met and talked. Earl Russell and Sir John Bowring, believing they were in earnest, encouraged them warmly. Good old Dean Hook came up from Chichester, and read a paper. They sailed in smooth enough waters so long as they had only a small cargo, and feared to distend canvas. When gently they did so, a noble historian, now deceased, gave them, as chairman of an older society, a gentle rap, telling them to go home, as they were unneeded. They did not contend, but went forward. In truth, the society suffered little; for if we had rebuffs on the one hand, we had on the other praise. But when our membership increased, when our roll became a long one, when our revenues amounted to nearly a thousand a year, then some ambitious persons stepped forward to share our honours, and claim the reputation we had won.

They did not get what they wanted, and we are no worse for their hostile manifestations, since we are enrolling more members than ever; have larger attendances and have better papers read at them; and comparing the attendance at this present dinner with that at our late annual feasts, we have an increase. Our library, which two years ago was

contained in a cupboard, now covers two walls of a well-sized room; and it is unique as containing the Transactions of every leading Historical Society in the world. An association which Lord Stanhope in 1870 declared to be "unneeded" has been admitted to a foremost rank among learned societies. It has correspondents in every capital of Europe, in the cities of the Far West, in India, and in Australasia. Its "Transactions" are stored by the principal universities. We are young, but, like the surviving natives of Aberdeen, hale and hearty. Unaided by State patronage, unassisted by those claiming literary renown, we have made our way by hard work alone Through the munificence of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, our library shelves have been supplied with two important sets of historical publications. Our labours have attracted lovers of historical research in the old empire of Japan, the Government of which (and this fact will be new to many of you) has appointed the Vice-chairman of our Council, Dr. Zerffi, to prepare an historical text-book to be used in their schools and colleges. We have been charged with innovation. I plead guilty to that charge; for I hold that a society without ladies is like a garden without flowers, and that meetings to which we cannot bring our wives or daughters should not have our countenance. Innovators are we, for we hold, or many of us do, that heroes in the field of letters are entitled to State recognition as much as those who, in the field of civil or municipal politics, attract the favour of the Minister, and so are enrolled among those whom the nation delights to honour.

PROFESSOR BEESLY proposed "Kindred Associations in England." He differed from the Secretary in regard to the patronage of learned societies by the State, and believed that a society which does useful work would be able to support itself. It was now universally recognised that, for the advancement of science, persons should be engaged in examining those obscurer data from which others might work up general views more suitable for the general public. It seemed strange

that in England history should be so long in having a society established for itself. He complained of the want of accuracy that characterized the historical text-books produced in England, and believed it to be a function of such a society as this that it should promote accuracy, and should in its papers furnish details on points of history; such work would be a great boon to historical students. While individual workers in the same field might bear a grudge towards each other, he believed that the greatest unanimity and good feeling existed between the different learned societies of London. He coupled the toast with the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries.

JOHN RAE, ESQ., LL.D., replied on behalf of the Society of Antiquaries, and expressed himself as agreeing with the remarks of Professor Beesly as to the good feeling between the various learned societies.

Dr. ZERFFI in proposing "Kindred Associations on the Continent," said Lord Stanhope told us to be gone; well, we did go, we went abroad, and formed now a centre Society of many of the most learned and celebrated societies on the Continent. He could but pay the highest compliments and thanks of the deepest gratitude to the energy of their learned Secretary, Dr. Rogers, who with an indefatigable energy and perseverance spread out an intellectual spider's web of union all over the Continent. So long as our organization at home and abroad was but in a problematical state, we had no letters in the papers on our doings—in fact, nobody took any notice of our proceedings; now, however, that the web had stretched its threads nearly all over the world, brought our Society into relationship with other kindred associations, and had mightily expanded—now we were noticed at least, by evil-wishers, who called themselves well-wishers, and who would not mind to manage the business of the Royal Historical Society for us. But we might safely trust the management to those who in adversity did not forsake our glorious cause, and it was only fair to let them reap the fruits of our more flourishing condition. That we should

have been the last among civilized nations to have an Historical Society was astonishing. We preferred till lately a kind of oyster-shell life. We shut ourselves up in our oyster-shells of prejudices, and did not care whether there were other creatures too in the world. We, the most powerful nation on the surface of the globe, expanding our sway over hundreds of nations, knew least of "General History;" we still looked down upon that important study as something superfluous. In none of our universities and colleges "General History" was yet taught as on the Continent in every gymnasium and in every university. Yet "General History" was the only possible basis of our very highest mental culture. Without a knowledge of the destinies of other nations in their development and mutual relations, no education was complete. The sectarian and national oyster-shells ought to be broken; we must know man all over the world to be able to know ourselves. Our connection with so many learned continental societies was the clearest proof that we intended to broaden our hearts and to widen our minds. To study the East we had Vienna, a town full of historical riches, the Imperial Library possessing not less than 13,000 MSS. and 8,000 Incunabula. What a mine to dig up historical papers! Florence was in union with us; what archives! Through the societies of Madrid we might learn what blind fanaticism had done against Moors, Jews, and suspected heretics; how easy it was to burn people for the welfare of their souls when the study of history was neglected. Through the Historical Society of Pesth, the annals of Hungary were at our disposal, and we might learn from them how analogous was the political development of Hungary to that of England, on account of a constitution, which, though about half a century older than that of England, was very much like it, and shaped the Hungarians like the English, so much so that an Hungarian, as far as social and political institutions went, found history in England at home with his mayors, aldermen, and all the other blessings of a free country and of muni-

cipal institutions. As to Russia, well, we were in connection with an Archæological Society of great merit, but History can only prosper in an atmosphere of perfect freedom. Historical societies might be said to be the most reliable standards of the intellectual condition a nation had attained. History was life; that life manifested itself in mental and moral activity, and the interest we took in the past to shape our present life, and to prepare our nation for its future destiny, might be measured by the amount of interest we took in the study of history. Besides history, there were the post-office, letters, and newspapers that served us to know in figures the standpoint of civilization. We had thus not only a "Historiometer," but also a "Graphometer" or an "Epistolarometer," and "Gazettometer." Switzerland had one post-office to every 6 square miles; England, 1 to every 9; Holland, 1 to every 20; Germany, 1 to every 26; France, 1 to every 38; Russia, 1 to every 230, and Turkey, 1 to every 442. We need not be astonished that Turkey had no Historical Society. Now, as to letter writing as a proof of high mental activity, England stood at the head of all European nations with 34 letters per inhabitant. What an amount of brain-work did this figure not prove? Some might say these letters were mostly business letters; as if business were not brain-work, as if business did not form an important part of history. Business people had plenty of wars and quarrels, the very elements of history. Switzerland came next to England with 23, Germany with 17, Holland with 16, Belgium with 14, France with 12, Russia with one letter per inhabitant, while Turkey had 1 letter for every 5 inhabitants. The more we studied history, the more we might convince ourselves of the accuracy of this "Graphometer." Let me finally mention the newspapers. The "Gazettometer" showed us Switzerland at the head of all nations with 18 newspapers to 1 person, Belgium with 14 to 1, Denmark with 12 to 1, England with 8 to 1 (this figure appeared fallacious, as the hiring of papers might not have been taken into due con-

sideration, for one paper is often circulated among 10 or 12 people); Germany, with 8 to 1; Holland with 7 to 1; France with 5 to 1, and yet nobody could deny that the French made the greatest noise in politics: though they did not like reading and studying history, they certainly played history with an immense effect, and often the greatest success; Russia with 1 to 1, and Turkey had *one* newspaper to every *ten* inhabitants. Was this not an accurate measurement of our mental activity in Europe? With that activity we had been placed, through the learned societies on the Continent, in a continuous *rapport;* to foster this *rapport*, in giving and receiving brain-work, was our duty. In bodily, not only, but also in intellectual union, there was strength. Isolation was the bane of individuals as well as of whole nations. Let our intellectual union with the continental learned societies lead to the highest aim history must foster—universal brotherhood and love to every man and woman playing however insignificant a part in the mighty historical drama of the world.

Mr. Sydney Robjohns proposed "The Historical Societies of America," specially referring to Williams's Library, the place where the Society held its ordinary meetings, as intimately associated with the history of America and with the Puritans who had made the greatness of that country.

Mr. Tito Pagliardini proposed "Scottish and Irish Literary Institutions," making special reference to the Royal Irish Academy, which dealt with history as well as other subjects, as one of the chief ornaments of learned Europe, and to the Grampian Club, the aim of which was to give an insight into the moral and social customs of Scotland in ancient times. But a wider field was open to their investigations; the Scottish and Irish Societies, leaving their own hills and dales, might extend their inquiries to the whole Celtic race and widen their investigations towards the East, to the Celtic remains of Normandy, Brittany, and Provence, as handed down in the innumerable tales of chivalry, in Boiardo, Ariosto, and their countless imitators. They might

show the influence exerted on the music of the future by the Lohengrin and the legend of the Sangraal. Studies like these would be more advantageous than the spending of energy on the question of Home Rule. Great Britain had Celtic blood for its foundation, and to this acting as a steadying infusion was due the fact that England and France stand foremost among modern nations. The heroes of history should be the great founders as well as the great destroyers, and he considered the post-office statistics given by Dr. Zerffi to possess greater historical value than the accounts of battles.

Mr. ALDERMAN HURST, in proposing "The Periodical and Newspaper Press," referred to the origin of the modern newspaper at the time of the Long Parliament, and to the subsequent outburst of periodical literature in the reign of Queen Anne, when the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and afterwards the *Rambler*, made their appearance.

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